FBIS DAILY REPORT

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GOVERNMENT EXTRADITES HIJACKER TO TURKEY

TA061938 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1800 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] Ekrem Kilic, one of the four hijackers of a Turkish airliner to Bulgaria while en route from Ankara to Istanbul 2 years ago, has been handed over to the Turkish authorities. Kilic was extradited to Turkey at the Edirne, Kapikule border crossing. The other three hijackers are still in Bulgaria.

CONSULTATIONS WITH BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY

AU051924 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 5 Jul 83

[Text] Sofia, July 5 (BTA) -- On July 4 and 5, political consultations were held in Sofia between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Belgium.

The Bulgarian delegation was headed by the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr Lyuben Gotsev, and the Belgian by Mr Alfred Caen, director general of the Political Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Cooperation.

During the consultations there were reviewed some topical problems of the international situation, and also issues concerning bilateral relations.

While discussing the international situation the two parties to the talks expressed their concern over the dangerous worsening of international affairs and their mutual wish to prolong the process of detente. The leader of the Bulgarian delegation stressed the significance of the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-states of January 5, this year and the joint declaration of senior party and state leaders of the European socialist countries adopted in Moscow on June 28, this year.

Views were exchanged on problems related to the limiting of armaments. Special attention was paid to the medium-range missiles in Europe, stressing the wish of the two countries, for the talks held on these questions in Geneva, to end successfully.

Stress was laid on the great significance the two parties to the talks attach to the soon conclusion of the Madrid meeting with positive results, including also a decision to convene a conference on measures to strengthen trust and security and on disarmament in Europe.

The two delegations discussed the course and the state of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in central Europe and expressed a wish for their successful conclusion. The Belgian party to the talks assessed as positive the latest proposal of the socialist countries direct participants in the negotiations.

Views on a number of international issues were exchanged -- the creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe and in particular the idea of the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, the situation in the Middle East, Central America, South Africa, etc.

While discussing bilateral relations, the two parties to the talks found with satisfaction the good state of bilateral relations in all spheres and the lack of outstanding, disputed questions to hamper their further development. Readiness was expressed for their expansion upon the foundation of mutual profit.

The talks proceeded in business-like and constructive atmosphere and in a spirit of sincerity.

The leader of the Belgian delegation was received by the minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Petur Mladenov.

LILOV RECEIVED IN ATHENS BY GREEK CP'S FLORAKIS

AU021937 Sofia BTA in English 1446 GMT 1 Jul 83

[Text] Athens, July 1 (BTA correspondent) -- Today the secretary general of the Greek Communist Party, Mr Kharilaos Florakis, received the member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Aleksandur Lilov, who was on a several-day visit to Greece at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party.

At the meeting which proceeded in warm and comradely atmosphere and at a complete unanimity of views, information was exchanged on the tasks the two fraternal parties are solving at the current stage. There were discussed also some topical questions of the international communist and workers' movement and also some problems of the international situation.

ZHIVKOV HONORS OUTGOING SOVIET ENVOY 6 JUL

AU061814 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] On 6 July, at the Boyana Residence, Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, awarded the Georgi Dimitrov Order to Nikita Tolubeyev, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria. The highest Bulgarian order has been awarded for the ambassador's merits and personal contribution to strengthening fraternal Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and comprehensive cooperation and coming together between Bulgaria and the USSR, and in connection with his final departure from the country.

The Soviet ambassador was cordially greeted by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Vasil Tsanov, and Kiril Zarev.

VISIT BY USSR DEPUTY FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER

AU051946 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 5 Jul 83

[Text] Trade between Bulgaria and the USSR during the first half of 1983 was reviewed during the visit to Bulgaria of Boris Gordeyev, USSR deputy minister of foreign trade. He had talks with Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, and had meetings at the Ministry of Light Industry and the National Agroindustrial Union.

Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Boris Gordeyev. It was noted with satisfaction that supplies are being exchanged. A broad range of issues was reviewed with regard to the quality and assortment of Bulgarian industrial and agricultural goods exported to the USSR.

STANISHEV MEETS VISITING PDRY PARTY OFFICIAL

AU061933 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] Sofia, Jul 6 (BTA) -- Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, met here-visiting member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Vemeni Socialist Party, Mr 'Abd al-Ghani 'Abd al-Qadir.

They exchanged information on the tasks the two parties are solving at present and and discussed some problems of the further implementation of the plan for cooperation and deepening the contacts between the BCP and the Yemeni Socialist Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. Exchanged were views on some topical international issues. Special attention was paid to the situation in the Middle East.

Absolute unanimity was stated on all the matters discussed.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVED LAO MILITARY DELEGATION

AU061813 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] On 6 July, Comrade Todor Zhivkov received the Lao military delegation led by Army General Khamtai Siphandon, member of the Politburo of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, deputy prime minister and minister of national defense. Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, took part in the meeting.

PLEVEN OKRUG PARTY SECRETARY REPLACED

AU061542 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] On 6 July there was a plenum on organizational matters of the Pleven BCP Okrug Committee. Penko Gerganov was relieved of his post as Pleven BCP Okrug Committee first secretary because of his election as first deputy chairman of the All National Committee for Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship. Stefan Minov, until now chairman of the Executive Committee of the Plevan Okrug People's Council, was elected Pleven BCP Okrug Committee first secretary. Comrade Georgi Atanasov took part in the plenum.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADORIAL APPOINTMENTS -- Sofia, June 17 (BTA) - The State Council has issued decrees whereby Konstantin Nikolov Kozmov is relieved of his duties as Bulgaria's ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany and Purvan Aleksandrov Chernev of his duties as Bulgaria's ambassador to Bolivia. Stoyan Venev Mitev is appointed Bulgaria's ambassador to Peru and Bulgaria's ambassador to Bolivia, and Serafin Dimitrov Serafimov - Bulgaria's ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania and Bulgaria's ambassador to Madagascar. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 17 Jun 83 AU]

EASTERN MILITARY AREA TACTICAL EXERCISE ENDS

LD062057 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] A tactical exercise carried out by units of the Eastern Military Area ended today. The final day included the development of a counterattack by a tank unit, which tested not only the commanders, but also the physical and psychological resources of tank crews. The planned goals of the attack and those of the entire exercise by the units of the Eastern Military Area taking part in the exercise were fulfilled.

ARCHBISHOP'S STATEMENT AGAINST REPRESSION

LD061853 Hamburg DPA in German 1235 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] Vienna, 6 Jul (DPA) -- Prague Archbishop Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek has openly spoken out against any kind of "suppression" of the people. "God created mankind to live in love, peace and happiness. That is why we reject any kind of suppression, both material and spiritual, of both groups and individuals," the primate of Bohemia said in Prague.

Tomasek made this explosive statement on the church conflict in the CSSR 2 weeks ago at the Communist-inspired "World Peace Congress" in Prague. In practice, large parts of the public were excluded from his audience, because his speech was not published by the organizers at the time, nor did Western journalists learn when Tomasek would speak at the Congress, if at all.

In Vienna, where Tomasek's short address has now become known in the "Religion and Tasks for Peace" working group, church circles expressed the assumption that the speech had been "manipulated" in translation. In Prague, it was described as insignificant to journalists.

According to the reports in Vienna, the cardinal said that in order to secure peace, an awareness of prevention is more important than the cure, and emphasized: "Those who threaten truth in the interests of propaganda threaten peace. Those who threaten justice -- and this is true of everyone -- threaten peace. Those who threaten fundamental human freedoms, including the freedom of religion, threaten peace."

There can be no peace "on a large scale if there is no peace on a small scale -- that is to say, in every community and inside every human being," the 84-year-old archbishop added.

Pressure on the church in the CSSR has increased recently, following the Vatican's criticism of the proregime association of priests "Pacem in terris" for being a political organization. The Vatican regards it as violating the guidelines that the Holy See set for priests' organizations last year, because it also pursues and develops political activities. Recently, it has been said repeatedly in Western church circles that many Czechoslovak priests have left the organization.

HISTORIAN EXAMINES POLITICAL REPRESSION

PM051026 Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Jun 83 p 5

[Article by Czechoslovak historian Karel Bartosek: "A Prime Area of Repression"]

[Text] One small date in the tide of history: 29 May 1983. One of the prisoners of Czechoslovakia's "normalization" was completing his eighth year of imprisonment. He is called Petr Uhl. Czechoslovakia has produced another "record breaker."

It is not just a question of one man's fate. And even if it were just a question of one man's fate, would we have the right not to point to the injustice?

Petr Uhl's fate is a small part of Czechoslovakia's history after the 1968 invasion; it also sums up that whole history. The man was 28 years old when he was first arrested in December 1969. He was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment in March 1971, with 15 other defendants much younger than he. I was in the corridor of the Prague court. I saw them surrounded by uniforms and weighted down with small chains, pale, with shaven heads, walking quickly toward the courtroom. I have never forgotten the strong impression I had then: They were children being led to the slaughter.

Petr Uhl served his full sentence. When he came out of prison he found a wife who was also a former political prisoner and a member of the Sabata family from Brno, which suffered so much during the 1972 trials. They married in 1974, had two children, were among the first to sign Charter 77, and pledged themselves to the rights and freedoms of human beings as many others did. They did not do so by throwing grenades or firing guns, but by writing or signing small typed sheets and informing people about injustices. They did not call for violence. They were not warmongers. They did not propagate racism or capitalism: They sought a solution to society's crises through democratic means.

In October 1979, Petr Uhl was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment during the trial of members of the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Prosecuted People. Once again, he received the heaviest sentence of this "antistate group."

A Cruel Competition

He is Bohemia's "record" political prisoner and, moreover, is not alone in this cruel competition: For instance, Rudolf Battek, who is at present serving his seventh year of imprisonment since 1969, also has a 9-year prison sentence to serve. There are others too.

The facts are there. After 1948, there was the Stalinist repression, more brutal in Czechoslovakia than in the other people's democracies: Almost 300 people were sentenced to death (most were executed); there were 100,000 political prisoners in the years 1948-1954; a total of 1,500 or 3,000 people killed, if we count those "legally" executed and those whose death in the prisons and camps was the direct consequence of imprisonment...an unhappy country that has enriched the European political and cultural vocabulary with words like "Prague confession" and "Prague trial."

Thousands of prisoners remained in prison during the sixties, the years of "preparation for the Prague spring"; and a few stayed there until 1967. Those noncommunists were forgotten a little.

After a short respite, the machinery of repression was set in motion again. There were thousands of arrests sparked by the demonstrations of 21 August 1969 and an initial wave of trials and sentences. Everything was in place. Special laws were passed, judges were available. According to a "secret statistic," 3,581 people were sentenced in 1969 -- 71 for antistate activities. We do not have the exact figures for the seventies.

Repression has its own logic and coherence. First, there are the waves of repression that have their own political content: In 1969-1972, the regime aimed mainly at former Communists; in the 10 big trials that took place in summer 1972, 47 people were sentenced to 118 years' imprisonment. Two-thirds of those people sentenced were former Communists: They received the heaviest sentences. The second wave of repression, from 1976 to 1978, affected political currents, but especially the young people who claimed to be in the underground and to follow the liberal socialists. The third wave, in 1980-1982, was aimed primarily at young workers and also Catholics, some of whom had already been sentenced in the fifties; the link between this wave of repression and developments in Poland seems obvious.

Then there is the "typical prisoner," the one who is most harshly punished. The evocation of the "stars" of political trials in Czechoslovakia since 1971 leads us to the conclusion that the government seeks primarily to punish the person who embodies the ideology deemed most dangerous at a given time, the one who can express it in writing and has organizational abilities.

So why this logic, this coherence in judicial and police repression in Czechoslovakia? The theory put forward by official propaganda that that country represents "the most westerly bastion of the whole Socialist community" is taken too lightly. Czechoslovakia is, strategically, a crucial territory for the Russian empire in presentday Europe: That is one of the main causes of the duration of this repression and its establishment as a system since 1948. People also often forget the military doctrine in force in the Warsaw Pact countries: One of the essential factors is the "population's political and moral state." Leading military and police experts in the empire's capital follow this "state" daily. The "Soviet advisers" are still in place. "The Warsaw Pact countries' interests and security" call for the close collaboration of the "special services." These services follow and analyze with special attention the state of the generations destined for the armed forces. The repression of rock groups seems ridiculous to many observers; however it has its logic. Singers of rather unconventional, sometimes pacifist, songs are capable of attracting between 2,000 and 3,000 people from all parts of the country to an unadvertised concert. The recorded songs are then listened to again, and sung, and that disturbs the young people's "political and moral" state.

These "special services" deal with many things. Some initiates know or suspect that they also study and analyze the possibilities of "replacement of the leadership cadres" at the necessary time.... The choice of General Jaruzelski in Poland was not made by chance. The choice of Gustav Husak in Czechoslovakia was not accidental either. The empire demonstrates complete Machiavellianism: Why, in this prime area of repression, are the presidents of the republic and the communist party general secretaries former prisoners? After Klement Gottwald -- who was also a "prisoner" for very personal reasons -- it was Antonin Novotny, who was a prisoner of the Nazis, and there were suggestions that there were "documents" on his behavior in the camp; then Ludvik Svoboda, former prisoner of the USSR in 1939, later boasted of being freed by collaboration with the Soviet intelligence services.

Finally, there was Gustav Husak, who was a prisoner for almost 10 years in the fifties. Is this not a fiendish exploitation of the old idea of the master and servant, or the tormentor and the victim?

The leaders appointed by the powers in the parent state naturally have their own individual responsibility in their respective countries' histories. At the beginning of the "normalization," Gustav Husak said that he did not want to collaborate with a "bunch of idiots" like Bilak. The most assiduous members of the secret police were furious because he was not prepared to give the go-ahead for the arrest of former Communists and their trial. That only lasted for awhile. All that was left for him to do in 1972 was to "justify" himself in a long written piece, after carrying out repression against some of his close aides, and to place that document in the achives for history.

Historians will be able to analyze that attitude -- and the similar attitudes of others -- as an "individual drama." Unfortunately, the period from 1969 to 1983 will continue to be that of the great "collective drama" of a small Central European country in which democrats, socialists, communists, and innocent people are repressed.

PREMIER STROUGAL RECEIVES SFRY'S PAVLOVIC

LD061254 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received in Hrzan Palace today Rade Pavlovic, member of the SFRY Federal Executive Council and chairman of the Yugoslav section of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

During their conversation, they highly praised the results achieved in the development of mutual relations in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. The two representatives expressed the conviction that there are prerequisites for their further intensification in the interest of deepening the traditional friendship and bilaterally advantageous cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. They said that in the future, emphasis will be placed on higher forms of economic cooperation, such as production cooperation and specialization with long-term perspectives. Good possibilities also exist for developing cooperation in all spheres. The meeting was attended by Svatopluk Potac, deputy federal premier and chairman of the Czechoslovak section of the committee.

INDIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION DEPARTS

LD061309 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] The delegation of the Indian parliament, headed by Shyam Lal Yadav, vice chairman of the Council of States, which has been paying an official visit to Czechoslovakia, ended its stay today and left Prague. Seeing off the Indian deputies at Ruzyne Airport were Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly. and other representatives.

RADIO COMMENTARY ON SHULTZ MIDEAST MISSION

DW051323 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 5 Jul 83

[Peter Spacek commentary]

[Text] According to Western news agency reports, Shultz said immediately before his Mideast visit, that he did not really expect a success in his mission or a breakthrough in U.S. efforts to achieve the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon. But what does he want then in the Middle East, considering that only 2 months ago he made a similarly exhausting tour?

The withdrawal of all foreign troops is a crucial element of the agreement imposed on Lebanon by the United States and Israel, and in which inconsistent elements are put on one level -- the Israeli aggressive troops which invaded Lebanon last year and still occupy a large part of the country, the Syrian units stationed there as Arab security forces by agreement with the Lebanese Government, and the PLO units. The U.S. troops that have been stationed in Lebanon since last year, and which will be further reinforced, are not taken into account when the Americans talk about the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

To Washington's regret this Lebanon agreement, with which the United States wants to consolidate its strategic positions in the Middle East, is still nothing but a piece of paper. It has failed to materialize because, among other things, of the attitude of Syria, which like other Arab states, understandably demands first of all the withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors. Opposition to Israel in Lebanon itself is not decreasing but increasing. Just recently the Lebanese Communist Party demanded the immediate annulment of this Lebanese agreement dictate and reiterated its proposal for a national Lebanese dialogue.

For many weeks and months, actions against the Israeli occupation regime have been continuing in southern Lebanon, for example, the demonstration of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians in (ash-Shahir) over the weekend when the Israeli even tried to disperse the demonstrators with tanks.

Thus the prospects for the U.S.-Israeli plans to eliminate opposition to their Lebanon concept are not good at all. According to ASSOCIATED PRESS reports, Secretary of State Shultz on the first leg of his trip asked Saudi Arabia to bring pressure to bear on Syria together with the United States. However, Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal in his welcoming address only mentioned the necessity of the Israeli troop withdrawal. Regarding Syria, which will be the last leg of the secretary's trip, President al-Asad said only yesterday in an interview that Syria would continue opposition to the subjugation agreement until it had definitely failed and Lebanon had regained its full independence.

NUCLEAR ENERGY PROTESTERS END ACTION

LD070947 Hamburg DPA in German 0754 GMT 7 Jul 83

[Excerpt] Hannover, 7 Jul (DPA) -- The action by nuclear energy protestors on GDR territory has apparently ended. After the protest camp near Nustrow was cleared yesterday evening, the approximately 40 members of the Luechow-Dannenberg citizens' action group for environmental protection also abandoned their camp near Gummern last night. This camp was immediately reoccupied, however, by about 10 young people who had earlier been staying in three different summer camps in the Luechow-Dannenberg District.

HAGER RECEIVES CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION

LD021434 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0230 GMT 2 Jul 83

[Text] Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, has received in Berlin a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee Department of Culture led by Miroslav Muller. He informed the Czechoslovak guests about the cultural implementation of the conclusions of the 10th SED Congress.

NEUMANN MEETS TUNISIAN TRANSPORT MINISTER

LD302024 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1516 GMT 30 Jun 83

[Text] Berlin, 30 Jun (ADN) -- The current dangerous phase in international relations can be overcome through agreed action and more effective cooperation of all forces interested in the peaceful development of peoples. This view was expressed in Berlin on Thursday by GDR First Deputy Premier Alfred Neumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and by Sadok Ben Jamaa, minister of transport and communications of the Republic of Tunisia.

In a talk both sides stressed the urgent need for a comprehensive, just, and lasting political settlement of the Middle East conflict and for ensuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Above all, this meant the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Lebanon.

The two sides paid tribute to the successful development of relations between the GDR and Tunisia and stressed the existence of favorable prospects for further developing cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere.

BRIEFS

BROWN COAL EXTRACTION -- Since the beginning of the year, more than 760,000 tons of crude brown coal have been extracted in excess of the plan targets. This year, a total of 6.5 million tons of coal are to be supplied to meet the energy and fuel requirements of the people and of industry. [Excerpts] [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1730 GMT 4 Jul 83 DW]

COAL MINING INNOVATION -- The Baerwalde brown coal mine in Cottbus has introduced a new technology to avoid losing several million tons of coal. In this mine the brown coal deposit suddenly makes a "leap" about 20 m upward into the overburden layer and is thus no longer accessible to the mine excavator. Therefore, an extra conveyer belt has been installed for the overburden removal bridge for transporting the coal down to the mine level; for this purpose the operations of the bridge are switched back and forth to coal and overburden excavation. The gain by this new technology amounts to 5 million tons of coal. [Summary] [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1730 GMT 26 Jun 83 DW]

HUNGARY RECEIVES TWO LOANS FROM WORLD BANK

LD061948 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] Hungary has received two long-term loans from the World Bank. The agreement concerning the loans was signed in Washington by Tibor Melega, deputy minister of foreign trade, and by the vice president of the World Bank.

One of the loans, worth $109 million, will be used to support the energy conservation program while the other loan worth $130 million will support the cereal production and storage program. Both loans are for 15 years and the rate of interest on them will change according to the market situation. Repayment must begin in 3 years. The World Bank loan serves as collateral for the Hungarian import and export deliveries connected to the two government programs.

LEADERS SEND BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO JARUZELSKI

LD051031 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 5 Jul 83

[Text] Budapest, July 5 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent a letter of greetings to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, and prime minister of the Polish People's Republic, on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

On this occasion the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic awarded the diamond decorated Order of Banner of the Hungarian People's Republic of Wojciech Jaruzelski, in recognition of his activity in the protection of the socialist social system, and the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries, and his merits in the maintenance and strengthening of brotherhood and comprehensive co-operation between Hungary and the Polish People's Republic.

MSZMP CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS IN BUDAPEST

LD060848 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] The Central Committee of the MSZMP is in session in Budapest. At the recommendation of the Politburo the body is discussing reports on international issues and the further development of the electoral system, documents on the state and aims of industry, and this year's experiences concerning the development of the people's economy.

TRYBUNA LUDU PUBLISHES MATERIAL ON SEJM SESSION

Baka's Report

AU051215 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 83 p 2

[PAP report: "Government Information on Implementation of Economic Reform in 1982 Presented to the Sejm by Minister Wladyslaw Baka on 28 June"]

[Text] Some 2 months ago the government submitted to the Sejm the "Report on Implementing the Reform and on Its Results." The report was published by RZECZPOSPOLITA. In drafting the report we were assisted by the views and proposals formulated by political, social-professional organizations, enterprises, and scientific research centers. The report submitted to this honorable house did not embellish evaluations or omit the most pronounced criticism because we wanted to honestly and truthfully present the real situation. The motto followed by the government in evaluating the implementation of the reform was "Let us admit errors, let us not conceal weaknesses." We attach great importance to today's Sejm debate, which was preceded by unusually intensive work in the Socioeconomic Council and in the Sejm teams and commissions, which have reinforced evaluations and enriched proposals.

The fact that for the first time in the history of People's Poland the issue of the economic reform is debated by the Sejm is of great importance, confirms the great role which the reform plays in helping overcome our economic crisis and in promoting the general process of socialist renewal, and illustrates the implementation of the crucial principle of the reform, namely, that the development of the general tenets of running the national economy and of its functioning is the exclusive domain of the Sejm.

Present Results Confirm the Correctness of Decisions

The report presents a developed evaluation of the implementation of the reform in 1982 and outlines directive proposals against the background of this implementation. The results achieved during the first 5 months of 1983 have confirmed our conviction that, generally, we were correct in evaluating the situation and in drawing the necessary conclusions from it. That is why the government supports the theses of the report and its proposals for further activities. This has released me from the duty of discussing individual issues in detail; I will limit myself to briefly presenting the most important issues.

One: Despite highly unfavorable conditions, the results of the reform in 1982 fully confirm the correctness of the decisions to begin the reform in the shape approved by the ninth congress and the Sejm. The implementation of the reform has created foundations on which to organize the performance of the national economy on new principles and has helped stem the regression and then gradually to increase our people's production militancy.

Two: Undertaking a comprehensive transformation of the system of the functioning of the economy under the conditions of a profound crisis, we had to adopt a program for gradually, and not immediately, implementing new solutions and mechanisms. The reform is a process and not a single action. While using in 1982 temporary solutions dictated by the reality of the economic situation, we did not lose sight of the main line of attack. We are gradually but consistently creating conditions for enterprises' activities based on reformed principles.

Three: Our country's negative experience continues to give rise to people's fears that, as in the past, we will abandon the reform. The predictions that material law would make it impossible to carry out the planned changes have failed.

The views which are now being disseminated by the various centers of Western propaganda, as well as by certain domestic centers, that the present reform will share the lot of the previous changes in the functioning of the economy will also fail. This is because we now know that it is necessary to consolidate a new, high position of work forces among the people and within the economy, because of the socioeconomic necessity to adapt the methods by which the economy functions and is run to the actual production potential, because of the political resolve expressed by the party and the other political parties that the reform must be implemented consistently, and because workers self-management groups and social and trade union organizations continue to increase their support for the solutions offered by the reform. We should realize, however, that the implementation of the reform is a struggle not only against objective difficulties and material restrictions, but also against subjective attitudes. On the one hand, it is a struggle against conservatism and red tape routine and, on the other, against mistrust and pessimism, which may unhinge every healthy trend. That is why the struggle for the reform must be waged along a very broad sociopolitical front, and not only along the economic front.

The most telling material hardships were inflicted on the reform and its results by the profound absence of economic balance, which had been created in the previous period. These hardships were represented by the difficulties in the market and in the supplies of raw and other materials by considerable price hikes, and by a slump in living standards. Large sections of our people have assumed that all this represents the cost of the reform and have become unfavorable to it. But the truth is that all this was a result of the economic crisis. Our people and economy would have to suffer these hardships, regardless of whether the reform would be introduced. Refusing to introduce the reform would have only deepened the chaos and would have deprived us of important elements of overcoming the crisis such as the independence of enterprises and the commitment and initiative of work forces and managements. Not too many people realize this. On the other hand, some sections of our society still continue to believe in the myth that the reform is some miraculous panacea that would free the country and people from all ills and troubles overnight. This myth gained particular popularity during the political struggle for the shape of the reform in 1981. It is natural that overcoming our profound crisis is a wearisome, difficult, and long-term process. Improvements can be achieved gradually with the help of our people's intensified collective efforts. The reform and its methods are expected to create the organizational and systemic conditions, incentives, and motivation for such efforts. We should note that this truth is penetrating public awareness with increasing intensity.

Five: We have implemented the principle that enterprises should be independent and self-financing, which has greatly increased their freedom of action and initiatives. Most enterprises have taken advantage of this independence in a rational way without undermining public interests. Despite the initial fears, the importance of planning in enterprises has increased, which has made planning more realistic insofar as the needs of enterprise management are concerned. The positive results of the implementation of the principles of self-financing are already there. The role of cost effectiveness analysis, which has been advocated for years, and which is now increasingly becoming the basis of decisions, has increased.

Six: The process of decentralizing local management has been advanced. The voivodship bodies of state administration have been entrusted the issues of general and farm construction, state farms, trade services, small production, and other areas of our life. We have created conditions to ensure that the problems that can be better solved by lower-management bodies should be solved by them. This should encourage local initiative, revive the good traditions of local self-government groups, and strengthen the ties among local communities.

We have extended the scope of the fiscal independence of local units and enhanced their ability to influence subordinate economic units; however, this is only the beginning of the great process whose legislative crowning glory will be the law on people's councils and on territorial self-government groups -- a law of fundamental importance for the functioning of the economy and the state.

Seven: The way of drawing up central plans and their role and functions have been radically changed. The participation of the people and representative bodies in developing concepts for the country's development has increased. The principle of making planning a social issue has been implemented. For the frist time in the history of planning in Poland the economic tools and mechanisms have been coordinated -- perhaps in a way that is still nto perfect -- with the goals and tasks of the central plan.

Eight: We should recognize 1982 as the year in which the legal system of the reform was created. The Sejm passed 20 laws which are directly connected with the reform and the government issued approximately 100 decrees in this connection. Several thousands of old regulations on economic issues were canceled. The year 1982 was also a year of struggle to ensure that the new laws are observed. This was a difficult task in the conditions of tension and difficulties and in view of the need for rapid and effective actions, especially since the extent of the cadres' training in observing new rules was not adequate. We also lacked many methodical solutions to facilitate the running of the economy in line with the principles of the reform. In such a situation it was particularly difficult to combat passivity and old habits. To counter the dangers stemming from routine, the premier ordered that the agreement between actual activities and the legal system of the reform must always be ensured. All the same, we have not been able to ensure such agreement in every case. It is necessary to eliminate loopholes in the legal system of the reform and to create an effective mechanism of supervision over the implementation of the legal requirements in the activities of all units of the national economy.

Nine: The answer to the question of whether the changes in the functioning economic system have helped stimulate production militancy and improve the effectiveness of economic management is: Yes, but not to the extent possible. After 25 months of unceasing reductions in production, in 1982 this disastrous trend was stopped and then reversed. This was a result of parallel actions of various factors, including especially the reintroduction of elementary social order and discipline, the Soviet Union's telling material assistance, the rapid rehabilitation of the production of coal and electric energy, and the relatively good farming results. As time went by, the principles and mechanisms of the reform made their impact increasingly stronger. It was the strongest in small production, in which the mechanisms of the reform had been introduced ahead of other sectors.

We Will Influence Effectiveness and Growth of Production

People often say that the solutions implemented in 1982 did not help increase effectiveness. The government is taking the necessary action in this connection. However, while evaluating this situation we should bear in mind that improved effectiveness will not be achieved overnight, not even from month to month, because within such a short time it is difficult to change the structure of production, to rationalize employment, and to achieve major results in conserving materials. Moreover, we should realize that some of the 1982 systemic solutions could not be fully used to promote effectiveness. I will present two examples. Example one: The introduction of progressive income taxation was -- despite its antimotivational nature, as people rather generally assert -- necessary in the period of great price changes and of the modification of the principle of price development, in order to make it impossible for enterprises to make excessive profits. If progressive income taxation had not been introduced, the rich enterprises would have become still richer and the poor more poor, which would often have not been in any way related to the performance of enterprises.

Example two: The lack of any direct connection between wage increases and production increases was a result of the hypothesis that the production in many enterprises would inevitably drop in many enterprises for reasons over which they had no control -- reduced supplies of raw materials from the capitalist countries. This hypothesis proved to be correct. Would passing the cost of the sanctions and restrictions imposed on us by the Western countries on to the work forces in enterprises have been justified? It is only now that it is possible to tighten and strengthen the solutions and mechanisms that help improve effectiveness. This does not mean that delays have not occured in this regard and that errors have not been made. Yes, errors have been made. This is so especially with the loopholes in the principles of price fixing, which have made it possible in some cases to pass on to the people the results of bad management in enterprises. There is also the matter of the rather lax observance of fiscal requirements, which has created the situation of the so-called easy money and has discouraged efforts to exploit production factors more effectively. This feature was especially glaring in construction trades, in which all shortcomings, including the absence of norms of accounting for materials and work, were reinforced by new errors, especially by the introduction of inadequate principles of price fixing and of wage development. However, it would be unjust to extend the evaluation of the absence of progress in effectiveness in 1982 to a small number of enterprises that were able to adjust the motivational systems in such a way as to make it profitable for workers, labor brigades, and production shops to conserve materials, to work more effectively, and to raise the quality of production. How ever, what is essential is to ensure that this positive trend spreads in all our enterprises,that systemic solutions enforce improved effectiveness, and that the results achieved in this regard constitute a typical "to be or not to be" for every enterprise. An important step in this direction was made on the threshold of 1983.

In 1983 premises were created to increase the impact of systemic solutions to ensure increased production and improved effectiveness, because the ground for the reform had already been cleared. We won some practical experience and got to know the main weaknesses of the mechanisms we used. The managerial cadres in enterprises acquired new skills. Under these conditions, it was possible at the beginning of 1983 to introduce systemic modifications aimed at increasing the effectiveness of economic mechanisms and at better reconciling the interests of enterprises with the interests of the public. These modifications were discussed by the 10th Central Committee plenum. The Sejm commissions viewed them with sympathy, and they were well received in enterprises. An important step along the road of reforming the economic system was made. The results achieved by the economy, especially by the processing industries, in the first 5 months of the year, show that many positive trends are being consolidated. The relatively high upsurge of production, improvements in construction, better exports, some improvements in the employment situation, progress in labor productivity, the halting of regress in quality in some lines of production -- all this seems to reaffirm that the modified mechanisms are beginning to operate with increasing effectiveness in the desired directions. The results of a large-scale poll about the economic results expected in 1983 are optimistic. This poll, which was carried out by the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Economic Reform together with the Institute of Management Organization of Cadre Improvement, embraced over 5,000 state plant managers, which is almost 80 percent of all such managers. This was an unprecedented poll in our country in relation to the size of our population. The next supplement of RZECZPOSPOLITA dealing with the economic reform will carry an extensive analysis of the answers supplied by plant managers to the questions on what results their plants would achieve in 1983. The managers took the view that production would greatly exceed the targets stipulated by the central annual plan, that productivity would greatly increase, that the relationalization and improvements of the structure of employment would be promoted, that the ration of the consumption of materials in production would be reduced, that the share of market production would increase, and that the trend to raise prices would be halted. What may give rise to concern is their predictions about wage increases, which may greatly exceed the central plan targets.

It is significant that similar trends are present in the poll carried out by the Consultative Economic Council. We can say that the results of this poll confound one with their optimism, and that is why the government is viewing them with utmost caution, especially since at many points they seem to disregard the actual conditions. For example, it is not certain how far plant manager took into account the limited possibilities for obtaining raw and other materials. On the other hand, it is impossible to disregard the results of the poll and rely on the traditional approach in the form of stock-taking of our resources. I wish to firmly draw your attention to this point. We have to take into account the fact that the economic reform has introduced new principles of activities and is forcing plants, work forces, and managers to change their behavior by demolishing the old order and introducing new mechanisms. We can say that the reform has made our economy an "old acquaintance." The thing is that we have to learn from scratch how to run the economy. That is why our present top task is to gain the necessary knowledge about the phenomena and tendencies asserting themselves in the reformed economy and to acquire the skill of correctly exploiting these phenomena and tendencies in economic management. The government is especially devoting much attention to these issues, seeing that the economic decisions and the proposals on how to improve the system are based on the most reliable research and analysis data. That is why we have organized an early warning system to report disturbing tendencies and features in the economy. This is done by the system of analyses and evaluations of the course of the implementation of the reform and its results. The system was established by a special resolution of the Council of Ministers.

We Fully Appreciate the Need To Stabilize Mechanisms of Reform

On 31 December 1983 a number of temporary regulations listed by the laws on the economic reform will become invalid. These regulations empowered the government to use solutions which deviated from the reform's ultimate principles for various reasons, especially for the reason of acute curbs on the supplies of materials, hard currencies, and of items. On the strength of our present knowledge of the conditions of the country's development in 1984-85 we can most certainly assert that we will not be able to eliminate temporary solutions by that time. At least we will not be able to eliminate all such solutions. However, the government takes the view that in 1984-85 the present temporary solutions should not be mechanically adhered to, because 1984 may be quite different from 1985. The knowledge of the working of new economic mechanisms, the increased experience of what is good and what requires changes and improvements, and, above all, the very clear development prospects mapped out by the 3-year plan and the austerity and anti-inflationary programs create qualitatively new premises for another stride in the process of strengthening the principles of the reform and of improving its mechanisms. We have launched an extensive discussion on this subject. This discussion is helping to detail and develop the proposals contained in the "report."

In this connection people often continue to ask: How long are we going to correct and modify the reform and change its solutions? My answer is that the government fully appreciates the need to stabilize the mechanisms of the functioning of the reform and the initiatives to this end. However, it would be imprudent and harmful for the plants and the economy to disregard the changeability of reality and the lessons taught us by experience. Compared with the recent past, we are now entering a much more stable period. Our prospects are becoming increasingly clear. We have a better knowledge of the factors in the economy and the laws governing the behavior of enterprises and social groups. The present proposals to change the system will therefore have a more permanent character. In line with the government's plans, these changes will bring the system of the functioning of the economy much closer in line with the ultimate aims of the reform.

Prices, Costs, Taxation, Wages, Principles of Loans

Our first task is to continue to sort out the price situation. We must use such principles of price fixing so as to make it impossible for enterprises to pass the cost of their bad management on to the customers. In line with general demands the government intends to propose that state bodies should have greater powers in the area of price fixing. In any case, prices should be fixed outside of the enterprises. In particular, we must eliminate the still frequent cases in which monopolist producers fix their own prices. New price regulations should facilitate the struggle against inflation, increase pressure to reduce prices, and stimulate increased production. None of this means that we want to return to the practice by which the state fixes all prices. History has proved that such a system is bad and that it serves neither the interests of citizens nor of the national economy. We want to consistently follow the road of the principles of the reform, to strengthen the enterprises' desire to increase production through price motivation, to restore and strengthen market equilibrium, to protect living standards, and to watch over the correct division of incomes among the individual social groups.

Turnover and income taxation play the central role in the economic system. It is our desire that turnover taxation should be used more extensively as an instrument for restoring market equilibrium, especially in the case of more refined goods. This process is already taking place. Enterprises must not profit by the shortage of goods in the market because this would result in the degeneration of the entire economic mechanism and would weaken production militancy. A flexible application of turnover taxation should induce producers to lower their costs and to increase the size of production as the principle means of making profit. Various proposals on changes in income taxation have been comprehensively analyzed. The present structure of this taxation was and is being generally criticized. However, the issue of income taxation calls for a particularly careful consideration, especially in view of the fact that solutions in this regard are of crucial significance for enterprises and for the budget. The new principles of income taxation should encourage enterprises to fully exploit their production potentials and to conserve all production factors. At the same time, they should be sufficiently productive sources of budgetary incomes and instruments of a just division of benefits between enterprises and the state.

The work to devise a new general settlement of the very complicated wage system, which is an especially difficult problem, continues. As the discussion of the brochure "How Much for What to Whom" will show and as daily practice is showing, it is not easy to switch over from the formula of wages as a strictly social proposition to the formula that closely relates wages to the results of work. A beginning has been made. Many enterprises have adopted new wage systems which in a direct and strict way make wages dependent on actual production results, on improved productivity, on conservation of materials, and so on. Workers self-management groups and plant managements, on the one hand, and work forces or trade unions, on the other, make contracts on work and wage conditions. A new quality of social relations in enterprises is being born. These most interesting phenomena and processes are being analyzed by the government all the time. The lessons stemming from the experience of the enterprises engaged in production will be exploited in the course of drawing up new comprehensive draft regulations relating to wages throughout the national economy.

The proposals on prices, taxation, the motivational system, and the principles of loan policy are all aimed at implementing the policy of tight financing and tight money. As the honorable house pointed out during the debates on the anti-inflationary programs, this is the main road leading to creating an economic system which compels those concerned to be thrifty and to manage effectively. This is the main road leading to strengthening the position of the zloty and to turning it into money that is worth all it stands for.

There Must Be No Technological Degradation of Industry

Efforts to improve the operation of the mechanisms of the economic reform are also important insofar as the country's future is concerned. It is from this angle that we are now reviewing the individual systemic solutions. The organizational and system proposals on strengthening the impact of the reform on the promotion and exploitation of technological progress are being examined with utmost care. We know that great efforts are necessary to overcome many obstacles in order to prevent the technological degradation of industry and other sectors of the economy. This is more reason why we must not count on loans and easy transfers of technologies from the West as was the case in the seventies. We must rely primarily on our own strength, on our own technical ideas, and on tighter ties and cooperation with the socialist countries. It is these circumstances that in the final reckoning should determine the lines of systemic changes in science, technological progress, and their links with the economy.

We are paying equal attention to analyses of the protection of the natural environment as one of the most important problems of the present times. The Council of Ministers recently adopted the draft law on establishing the central office of water economy and environmental protection. This draft will soon be submitted to the Sejm. As you can see, better institutional-organizational conditions will be created to prevent the degradation of the natural environment, to comprehensively solve the most urgent ecological problems, and to program, control, and implement activities in this sector, which is so important for man and nature.

I have presented the main line of modifications of the economic system, which, as the government estimates, will increase the effectiveness and strength of the principles of the reform. We have behind us the first working stage of discussions on this subject. With the help of the comprehensive proposals worked out by the commission for economic reform the government is drawing up draft modifications to the laws and decrees in question. I have been obliged to present to the Council of Ministers the proposals that the Honorable Sejm may finally formulate on the strength of the deputies' evaluation of the course of the implementation of the reform and of its results.

The proposals will be considered during further work which should be accomplished by the end of the third quarter of this year so as to enable enterprises to use the modified principles when drawing up their 1984 plans.

Last year initiated the construction of a new system of the functioning of the economy. The coming years will see the consolidation of the foundations of such a socialist economic model in Poland as can be described in Oskar Lange's words that "it has been produced by the great movement of socialist democratization, by the Polish people's mature needs and aspirations, and by their profound attachment to the overriding values of socialism." This unshakable conviction will inspire all the actions of the government.

Resolution on Self-Management Bodies

AU051232 Warsaw TRYBUMA LUDU in Polish 30 Jun 83 p 2

[PAP report: "Sejm Resolution Concerning the Further Development of Workers' Self-Management Bodies in State Enterprises"]

[Text] The Sejm of the PPR declares that the activity of worker's self-management bodies is the fulfillment of a fundamental constitutional principle -- the participation of the workers class and of workers' self-management bodies in running enterprises.

The functioning of workers' self-management bodies is having a positive influence on the process of strengthening socialist democracy and encouraging social activity. It is also making the workers class feel responsible for economic activity, management efficiency, social justice, work order and discipline, and the correlation of the interests of enterprises with the interests of society in general.

In an increasingly greater number of enterprises, self-management bodies have been elected in accordance with the law on self-management bodies in state enterprises and have recommenced their activity after a period of suspension. They are now fulfilling their inspirational, opinion-making, and control functions. Cases are diminishing where work forces are being denied their rights or are having them restricted by the managements. Workers' self-management bodies are becoming increasingly more active participants in implementing economic reform and overcoming the causes and results of the economic crisis.

The Sejm is convinced that self-management bodies in enterprises will see to it that the assets of the entire nation are used and managed correctly and in accordance with the interests of society in general. In order to achieve further progress in implementing the economic reform and its social goals, it is essential to consistently perform the tasks of the National Socioeconomic Plan. Observing the law on self-management bodies is of decisive importance for their development. Since the statutes of workers' self-management bodies declare the intention of these bodies to act in accordance with the law, it is assumed that a failure by a self-management body to register its statute with a court within 30 days from the foundation of its workers' council, or a court statement that the statute is in breach of the law, means that any resolution adopted by a workers' self-management body cannot be legally valid. The idea behind and the practice of self-management bodies should help to tidy up, strengthen, and develop the economy and the state, and should help the work forces and working people in general to observe legal, social, and moral norms.

At the same time, the Sejm confirms that all bodies of the state administration and economic administration are obliged to observe the rights of workers' self-management bodies and to undertake essential action for the full introduction of the principles of enterprise activity which are laid down in the laws of 25 September 1981.

Workers' self-management bodies should become forums of a harmonious correlation of the interests of various professional groups, which should make joint activity between the managements and the trade unions on pay matters and social matters easier. These bodies should take care that the legal order in force, especially the labor code, is observed and they should protect basic social interests.

The Sejm expresses its recognition for the thousands of activists in self-management bodies, for the workers, technicians, engineers, and administrative workers who have been democratically elected by the work forces in plants and who perform their difficult social service with dedication.

The Sejm approves of the work of the Commission for Labor Self-Management in Enterprises and expresses recognition for its initiatives which serve the implementation and observance of the law on workers' self-management bodies in state enterprises.

In order to further widen legal and organizational assistance for activists inside self-management bodies, the Sejm Presidium will appoint an advisory team of eminent practicians and theoreticians of labor self-management. This team will be attached to the Commission for Labor Self-Management.

The Sejm confirms its firm will to consistently strengthen and fully develop self-management bodies in state enterprises. It declares that the government's activity up to now has served to achieve this goal and should be continued with even greater energy.

Aiming to increase the influence of work forces on implementation of economic reform, on harmonization of the interests of enterprises with the interests of society in general, on permanently establishing the socialist relations of production and work, and on making management more democratic, the Sejm of the PPR asks all work forces in state enterprises to fully involve themselves in labor self-management activity.

Resolution on Economic Reform

AU051115 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jun 83 p 2

[PAP report: "Sejm Resolution Concerning the Implementation of Economic Reform"]

[Text] Having acquainted itself with a report on the implementation and results of the economic reform in 1982, the Sejm of the PPR declares that the government's activity concerning implementation of the reform ought to be regarded as correct and ought to be positively assessed. This activity agrees with the changes to the system of managing the national economy which were agreed on at the Ninth PZPR Congress and adopted by the Sejm.

The profound processes of reforming the economy that have been started and that are aimed at spurring on and developing socioeconomic life have caused many initiatives and positive phenomena. These have occurred at the same time as an increase in production in many enterprises, the application of the cost-effectiveness analysis, and an increase in the workforce's interest in the economic results of their plants.

A correct understanding of the purpose and correct implementation of economic reform are still not occurring to the same degree in all enterprises and sectors of the economy.

The following remarks and conclusions are the results of the assessments of the economic reform made by deputies sitting on Sejm commissions and of the opinions of the Socio-economic Council attached to the Sejm of the PPR:

1. As a result of the implementation of economic reform, the independence of enterprises has risen considerably in the following spheres: planning, employment, wages, use of resources, including financial resources, the shaping of internal organizational structures and associations. The leadership cadres inside enterprises have become more active. Market and export production has increased as a result of the reform, although the improvements in exports are still not properly appreciated. Nevertheless, in many cases enterprises have been taking advantage of their new-found privileges in a way not in accordance with social intentions and goals, even though they have adhered to the regulations.

2. The reform is being introduced under difficult conditions. Therefore, the need has arisen to also apply temporary measures that limit the final aims of the reform, for example concerning the distribution of funds and materials and the rationing of some consumption goods. The country's difficult economic situation has also caused a trend to appear in which there are differences between the interests of society as a whole and the legal regulations in order to achieve particular favors can be observed.

There is still a failure to make growth in incomes fully dependent on growth in production. Fully effective mechanisms for making the management of economic organizations more efficient have still not been worked out, although the prerequisites for such an improvement are being created. In many enterprises, financial results have been improved by raising prices and not by reducing costs and improving work organization.

3. The occurring cases of incorrect implementation of the economic reform result above all from a lack of broad experience in applying direct methods of running the economy. There is a need to pay greater attention to these features in economic processes which cause faulty and unintentional results, especially inflation and increased costs of living.

4. The financial and economic measures being applied as part of the economic reform, although they are varied, should be stable so that the enterprises are fully acquainted with the conditions under which they have to act.

5. A failure by enterprises to apply up-to-date methods for consuming materials and energy and organizing work makes it impossible to manage materials correctly and save on work resources. The work of enterprises should be based on rational norms. On this basis, too, wages regulations should query be adjusted so that a proper relationship is established between a growth in wages and a growth in productivity.

6. Prices are the most sensitive feature of cost-effectiveness analysis and the most sensitive factor shaping the population's real income. The fixing of contracted prices causes the greatest reservations among people. Calculating the costs that form part of the contracted price of a commodity should be subject to certain regulations and control over calculating these prices should be stepped up. The Sejm draws attention to the need to more strongly counteract unjustified price rises, which have often been regarded as the results of economic reform by the population.

7. In credit and budget policy, it is essential to eliminate the concessions and privileges which encourage inefficient management.

8. The Sejm points out the need to further improve the income tax system so that income tax does not restrict any improvement in the efficiency of management. It is, therefore, considered correct that progressive income tax be abandoned in favor of a fixed percentage tax. Tax on profits should possess greater influence and should be restored as an element which shapes prices. Taxation may be adapted to suit the individual conditions of various branches, with the proviso that financial instruments should be permanent.

9. Economic instruments should take into account the specific nature of individual branches of industry, and should stimulate their development in accordance with the social function of economic branches.

10. The principles of reform have not yet covered the entire national economy. Difficulties in implementing the reform have occurred in some branches of the national economy as a result of the specific nature of various branches. This does not make it easier to restructure the economy. It is necessary, therefore, to pay attention to these branches of the national economy and pave the way to deeper transformations inside them in accordance with the economic reform.

11. Improving the methods of implementing the reform demands strengthening central control over and planning of development within rational limits. This is to be done mainly by means of economic instruments.

There is also a need to improve the organization and methods of functioning of the central and local state apparatus.

12. The Sejm declares that the reform will create the right conditions for the economy to function according to healthy economic principles, will encourage social activity, will encourage good management on the basis of incentive systems, and will cause workers to exert a wide influence on the work and development of their plants. The reform's mechanisms will also better serve scientific and technical progress, including rationalization and inventiveness, and will help improve the quality of products, services, and installations. Although the current solutions conform to the principles of the reforms, they are not perfect. That is why the Sejm will obligate the government to further improve the methods whereby the reforms can be consistently implemented. The Sejm expects another assessment of the reform to be presented after the financial and economic results of 1983 have become known.

The Sejm asks the work forces, self-management bodies, trade unions, managements of state and cooperative enterprises, the leaderships of social organizations, and all working people to work for the sake of improving management and to implement the goals of the reform through their own work contribution.

POLITYKA: REYKOWSKI COMMENTARY ON PAPAL VISIT

AU011718 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 2 Jul 83 p 3

[Janusz Reykowski commentary: "Groundless Fears"]

[Text] The visit of John Paul II to Poland is being interpreted in various ways. There is a trend to ask the following question, the favorite formula of many foreign journalists when interpreting the visit: "Will this event help communism or will it harm it?"

This very simple, if not rather base formula, is used by us as well as by others whose views are diametrically opposed to ours. I personally believe that the analyses made by those who see the world in black and white and who try to reduce the complex fabric of sociopolitical life to a few "elementary principles" are wrong.

How can we say that the visit could harm the socialist system in Poland?

Should this harm have taken place because the visit exposed some kind of deeply-hidden truths which really undermine the prestige of the state? Would it be right to add to these truths the fact that the first Pole in history to be placed on the papal throne enjoys great influence and stirs the emotions of millions of Poles? That his words inspire a great mental rapport?

Or maybe it is because martial law for many Poles was a traumatic experience which was by no means easy to recover from? Or because there are still many people in Poland who find it hard to reconcile themselves to the fact that "Solidarity," a movement which held so much promise for many of them, was disbanded?

Surely only naive people and those who understand very little about Poland could treat these facts as revelations.

Someone could say that the point is not to disclose secrets which are not secrets, but to realize that by voicing them publicly we evoke social reactions which could have grim consequences for the existing political order.

We can view these consequences of both the near and the distant future. As regards the former we can say that the forecasts of those who believed that people's moods would be explosive and would result in an outburst during the visit were thwarted. It is a fact which provides much food for thought.

With reference to the more distant-future no small role should be attributed to the content of the pope's message when appraising the visit.

It was a message which included many themes incorporating feelings of deep sorrow due to the dramatic fate of the Polish people as well as to the restrictions they are subject to. But it would be hard to say that the pope's main message was directed against values which belong to the programmatic goals of socialism.

Or can we suppose that the idea of human dignity and the idea of the dignity of work are also values like this, in other words, the ideas which have been written on socialist banners since the birth of this movement? Or can we say that demanding the freedom of the individual, defending his indispensable rights, or demanding the subjectivity of the people is striking at the values of socialism? It is hard enough to even imagine implementing the goals of socialism without making these demands a reality.

Of course, the problem is not only formulating these values; it also centers on the practical deficiencies which are at odds to a considerable degree with these values. These "deficiencies" are an essential prerequisite of the lively social response which any reference to them inspires.

One cannot deny that a difference of opinion is emerging with regard to these values and that this is expressed in both the justification behind them as well as the way they are graded and the conditions for their implementation defined. For example, socialist ideology emphasizes the fact that it is not possible to bring about the good of the people without creating material and social conditions for them to this end. This in turn requires that solutions be found to many practical discrepancies: for instance, how to reconcile the individual's right to freedom with the interests of the masses, whose existence is a prerequisite for freedom of every kind. The Christian view seems to put greater stress on the spiritual conditions of implementing these values, but should this be the reason why we should regard the pope's message as striking at socialist values?

John Paul II put much emphasis on the significance of a value such as national sovereignty, and this is the main problem of the forces in authority in Poland because they must find an answer to the question of which policy at any given historical moment will favor the sovereignty issue and which will be a threat to it.

But perhaps the pope's idea to help detainees or to comfort those who have suffered due to the dramatic turn of events in our country strikes at Poland's raison d'etat? And who in Poland cannot regret the fact that there were so many people in conflict with the state since their fate lies heavily on the hearts of many, not excepting the bodies of the movement for national rebirth.

It may be that someone will consider the fact that society is being exposed to a different interpretation of its history and its present situation as a harmful and a dangerous one. However, such a circumstance may turn out to be favorable if it prevents our fossilization.

Another fact which can be deemed harmful and dangerous is that the moral strength and feelings of personal value of the throngs of people belonging to the Catholic Church have been consolidated.

If such a situation seems worse than the moods of indifference and disbelief which have so often occurred in our country, then this means that some people have a strange notion of what is necessary for Poland. It is clear that such a situation can lead to new political and social changes; however, nothing has pointed to the fact that this reinforced moral strength could be used to strike at the foundations of the socialist system and aimed at the restoration of capitalism.

On the contrary, the message of John Paul II stresses that in Poland it is necessary and possible to implement the principles of accord and unity. Even the honorable guest's first words were on peace, and the idea that dialogue is in fact a fruitful base for "internal peace" was formulated at the very start of the visit. These words were a vivid contrast to the things people who have been overcome by hopelessness and mistrust are saying -- that there is no one to have a dialogue with and nothing to talk about.

I think there is a chance that the pope's visit will contribute to the revival of a new period of dialogue in Poland, and it may be that it will be easier for many people who have either become set in their opposition or have succumbed to the moods of indifference to take part in this new dialogue which may even favor a resumption of constructive activities.

However, one thing is sure, and that is that if this dialogue is to be fruitful, it cannot be restricted to delivering monologues or personal reasons without trying to understand the reasons behind the partner's dialogue. This requires a great mental and moral effort, and one would like to think that all the participants of this dialogue will make it.

SINDERMANN ADDRESSES ZGORZELEC-GOERLITZ MEETING

LD062312 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1816 GMT 6 Jul 83

[Text] Zgorzelec, 6 Jul (ADN) -- Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, addressed a meeting of representatives of the FDJ and Polish youth in Zgorzelec on Wednesday. He said that over the past 33 years the friendship between the GDR and the PDR has stood the test in all situations. The Oder-Neisse peace border has proved to be a stable factor for a true policy of peace, the peace policy of two socialist countries.

There were cheers for Polish-German friendship when Horst Sindermann conveyed the greetings of the SED Central Committee and of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. This joint meeting radiates the idea of peace, friendship and the happiness of the young generation, he said. It is deeply symbolic that this meeting has taken place at the historic place where the agreement was signed between the governments of the PPR and the GDR on the Oder-Neisse border.

The fraternal meeting of the young from both countries, like their meeting 33 years ago, demonstrates a historic fact: With the triumph of socialism in our countries nothing remains to divide us, but there is everything to unite us: the prosperity of our peoples, the friendship of our states, the safeguarding of peace in our continent. "There is no higher ideal for youth than friendship, peace, and the joint struggle for the happiness of our peoples," he said to applause. He said that the appeal that young parliamentarians from both countries had addressed to the youth of Europe is an avowal of peace and a battle cry for the defense of the most sacred right of the young generation -- the right to life. This right is being cynically attacked by U.S. politicians who are threatening the use of nuclear force.

The preachers of the antisocialist campaign, the apostles of the idea of a nuclear first strike, the propagators of terrible lies about a winnable nuclear war must be curbed. Revanchist weeds are flourishing on the swamp of this inhuman policy. Unfortunately, responsible politicians in the Federal Republic share these dreams of would-be raiders of the East, although they should know how much death and suffering this policy has brought upon the peoples.

The blacker the shadows of the policy of nuclear threats loom, the more brightly the constructive policy of peace, nuclear disarmament in East and West, and international cooperation shines out to mankind, a policy proclaimed at the meeting of the leaders of socialist states. The Moscow joint statement shows once again convincingly how the demands of the world-wide peace movement and the vital interests of youth coincide with socialism's peace policy.

It is in the vital interest of young people in the NATO countries to achieve an early end to the arms race and a switch to disarmament, above all in the nuclear field. The relevant proposals are on the table. They have been put forward by the socialist community. He asked whether it does not accord with the deepest desire of many young people in the NATO countries to prevent the stationing of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, to freeze the nuclear weapons of all nuclear powers, and not to station weapons in outer space. The socialist community has put forward proposals to this end.

The great peace movement in Europe and throughout the world demonstrates the triumph of reason among nations. The signals from Moscow are being heard. The forces of peace and reason will grow even stronger. They are invincible because they rely on the formidable power of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community states and on the support of the forces of the national liberation movements and of the revolutionary workers movement in the imperialist countries.

In conclusion, Horst Sindermann expressed the certainty that the devotees of force and nuclear threats will fail abjectly and that the defenders of humanism and peace will triumph.

BRIEFS

NEW ZAIRIAN AMBASSADOR -- State Council Chairman Henry Jablonski received Amissi Tangala, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Zaire, at the Belwedere Palace in Warsaw on 11 June, when Tangala presented his credentials. [Summary] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jun 83 p 1 AU]

ENVOY TO FRG -- Bonn 5 July -- Polish Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany Tadeusz Olechowski presented his credentials to FRG's President Karl Carstens on Tuesday. Accepting the credentials, President Carstens voiced his hope that Poland "will find a road to national reconciliation and recovery of the economy". [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1413 GMT 6 Jul 83 LD]

TURKISH PRIME MINISTER ULUSU VISITS 1-4 JUL

Greeted by Dascalescu

AU011212 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1155 GMT 1 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 1/7/1983 -- Upon the invitation of Constantin Dascalescu, Romania's prime minister, Bulent Ulusu, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey arrived in Bucharest, on July 1, to pay an official visit.

The guest is accompanied by Kemal Canturk, minister of trade, Sabahattin Ozbek, minister of agriculture and forestry, Ercument Yavuzalp, ambassador under-secretary of state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Akin Cakmakci, under-secretary of state, the Ministry of Industry and Technology, Tevfik Erkmen, deputy under-secretary of state under the prime minister and secretary-general of the Council of Ministers, by advisers and experts, by other officials.

At the Otopeni Airport, adorned with the state colours of the two countries, Turkey's prime minister was greeted by Constantin Dascalescu, Gheorghi Oprea, first deputy prime minister and Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister, Ioan Avram and Gheorghe Caranfil, ministers, by other Romanian officials.

Dinner To Honor Guest

AU011904 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 1 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 1/7/1983 -- Official talks started in Bucharest in the afternoon of July 1 between the prime minister of Romania, Constantin Dascalescu, and the prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, Bulent Ulusu.

The two premiers made an in-depth analysis of the way in which the decisions made and understandings reached during the interviews and talks between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenan Evren are translated into fact with a view to continually amplifying and deepening the Romanian-Turkish relations in sectors of high importance for the economies of the two countries as well as in other domains of mutual interest.

During the talks, both sides expressed satisfaction at the upward course of the relations between Romania and Turkey on multiple planes. Special attention was paid to a higher capitalization of the economic potential available in Romania and Turkey to the end of further expanding the economic and technical-scientific collaboration, substantially increasing and diversifying goods exchanges on mutually advantageous terms and in accordance with the development programmes of the two countries.

Further possibilities were examined for the expansion and diversification of economic, industrial and technical cooperation, of the cooperation in the fields of oil, chemistry, mining, electric power, metallurgy, transport and telecommunications, agriculture as well as in the joint building of units in third markets.

Opinions were also exchanged on current international political questions.

The two premiers pointed out that the steady development of the relations between the two countries contributed to the promotion of understanding, cooperation and peace in the Balkans, in Europe and all over the world.

The talks which pass in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding are attended by Ioan Avram, minister of machine-building industry, co-chairman of the Joint Romanian-Turkish Governmental Commission of Economic Cooperation, Kemal Canturk, minister of trade, co-chairman of the Joint Governmental Commission, and by other Romanian and Turkish officials.

The Romanian prime minister gave an official dinner on Friday in honour of the prime minister of the Republic of Turkey.

Attending were Gheorghe Oprea and Ion Dinca, first deputy prime ministers, and other officials.

Participating were the officials accompanying the Turkish premier on his visit to Romania.

In the toasts they proposed during the dinner, Constantin Dascalescu and Bulent Ulusu pointed to the mutual willingness to further develop the fine Romanian-Turkish relations, in the interests of the two peoples, of the cause of peace, good neighbourliness and understanding, of collaboration and security in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

The two heads of government toasted to the good health of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenan Evren, to the steady development of the relations of friendship and close collaboration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Turkey.

Received by Ceausescu

AU021600 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1534 GMT 2 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2/7/1983 -- On Saturday, July 2, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received the prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, Bulent Ulusu, now on an official visit to Romania. The interview was attended by Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu.

The Turkish premier conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu cordial and friendly greetings from the president of the Republic of Turkey, Kenan Evren. Likewise, the guest expressed his gratitude for and satisfaction at having been received by the Romanian head of state.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and requested that President Kenan Evren be conveyed his greetings and best wishes, and the Turkish people wishes of prosperity and welfare.

During the talk satisfaction was expressed at the fact that the Romanian-Turkish relations had witnessed an ascending course over recent years. Stress was laid on the progress made in promoting collaboration in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other fields of activity. It was assessed that the results scored were prerequisites for further deepening and expanding the cooperation between the two countries, in the spirit of the important understandings reached during the summit dialogue in Bucharest and Ankara.

Both sides expressed the wish to efficiently capitalize the broad possibilities offered in this respect by Romania's and Turkey's economic potential. The need was stressed for action towards the intensification of the economic relations, the expansion of cooperation in top sectors of material production, the diversification and substantial increase of goods exchanges, on mutually advantageous terms and in concordance with the development programmes of the two countries.

It was stressed that the steady deepening of the Romanian-Turkish relations was in the interest of the Romanian and Turkish peoples, of their progress and prosperity, and contributed at the same time to the promotion of understanding, cooperation and peace in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

Current aspects of the world political life were also approached, the need being stressed for enhanced efforts with a view to preventing the international situation from worsening, resuming and consolidating the policy of detente, peace, collaboration and respect for national independence.

It was also assessed that everything possible should be done for the soonest possible conclusion of the Madrid meeting which should lead to the convening of a conference on disarmament and confidence-building on the continent. In that context, the significance was highlighted of the development of bi- and multilateral relations among the Balkans countries, of relations of good neighbourhood peace and collaboration.

The deeply negative implications of the arms race being highlighted, it was assessed that the halting of the arms race and the passage to practical, effective measures of disarmament, nuclear in the first place, were priority goals.

Likewise, the effects were highlighted of the world economic crisis, which affects all the states of the world, the developing ones in particular, and it was considered that all efforts should be made to liquidate underdevelopment and bridge the gaps between the rich and the poor countries, to build a new international economic order.

The interview passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Ulusu Tours Brasov County

AU031733 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1550 GMT 3 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 3/7/1983 -- Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu visited Brasov County on July 3. The Turkish prime minister was accompanied by Ioan Avram, minister of machine building; Ion Tesu, minister of agriculture and food industry; Vasile Patilinet, Romania's ambassador in Ankara.

On visiting the lorry works the guest's attention was arrested by the 50T and 110T Diesel tip-up trailers, the tire tractors for long-distance transportation of goods, the wide range of lorries of various powers and capacities, products meant for the Romanian economy and for export.

The guest also visited the Prejmer state agricultural enterprise and residential districts in Brasov.

Stopping at Scheii Brasovului, the Turkish premier saw round the school museum, an old establishment of Romanian culture, dating back to the 14th century, which moulded many generations of Romanian scholars.

The same day, the guests had the opportunity to admire the beauties of nature, sports units and touristic development in Poiana Brasov, where thousands of Romanian and foreign tourists are holidaying on these days.

The Turkish prime minister and the officials accompanying him in Prahova Brasov Counties returned to Bucharest in the evening.

Premiers Constantin Dascalescu and Bulent Ulusu attended on Sunday a luncheon given by Marin Enache, chairman of the Executive Committee of the county people's council.

During the luncheon the chairman of the county people's council and the prime minister of Turkey proposed toasts to the good health of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenan Evren, to the continued development of the collaboration between the two countries on multiple planes, to the friendship between the Romanian and Turkish peoples.

Protocol Signed

AU041823 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 4 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/7/1983 -- The official talks between the Romanian prime minister, Constantin Dascalescu, and the Turkish prime minister, Bulent Ulusu, concluded in Bucharest on July 4.

Held in an atmosphere of cordiality, esteem and mutual understanding, the talks pointed to Romania's and Turkey's wish to take better advantage of both countries' possibilities to expand and deepen the economic, industrial and technological cooperation to intensify and diversify commercial exchanges, the collaboration on various planes between the two countries, in keeping with the agreements convenanted and documents signed during the meeting between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenan Evren.

New ways to intensify trade exchanges, to amplify the industrial and technico-scientific cooperation and in other domains of mutual interest were discussed and agreed upon.

Emphasis was placed on Romania's and Turkey's Governments' resolve to materialize the actions convenanted as soon as possible and to provide all conditions to put them into practice, to the advantage of the two countries, of the further development of the relations of friendship, good neighbourhood and manysided collaboration between them, of the cause of international peace and collaboration.

The heads of Romania's and Turkey's Government signed the protocol on the results of the talks conducted in Bucharest. On the occasion, the two premiers expressed their satisfaction at the productive results of the visit paid to Romania by the prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, of the talks conducted in Bucharest, and assessed them to have contributed to a more powerful development of the Romanian-Turkish collaboration on multiple planes, both in the interests of the two countries and peoples and of the international political life.

Departure 4 Jul

AU041819 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 4 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/7/1983 -- The official visit paid to Romania by Bulent Ulusu, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, as guest of Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, came to an end on July 4 in the afternoon.

The Turkish premier and the other Turkish officials was seen off at the Otopeni Airport by Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime minister, and by other Romanian officials.

PLENARY SESSION OF LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HELD

LD020930 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 1 Jul 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 1 Jul (TANJUG) -- The Eighth Plenary Session of the LCY Central Committee opened in Belgrade this morning under the chairmanship of Dragoslav Markovic. The session will consider the international situation, the trends in the workers' and other progressive movements in the world, and Yugoslavia's international position, as well as the activity and tasks of the LCY on the international level.

The session will also consider the report on last year's work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. A new member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium will also be elected and the verification of changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium will be carried out. The agenda also includes the confirmation of the work program of the commissions of the LCY Central Committee.

The introductory report at the plenum was submitted by Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

After he stated that he often encountered questions on Yugoslavia's present international position, Milos Minic stated that Yugoslavia's international political and military position is complex, and its international economic position had become more difficult in recent years.

Yugoslavia's unremitting activity on the international plane favors the conclusion that Yugoslavia's international position has not been essentially weakened, Milos Minic said. He added that this is a great political resource of our country that was developed during 35 years of consistent socialist domestic and foreign policy led by Tito, the LC and our federation. This resource is still giving us wide room for maneuver with regard to the solution of complex and difficult problems now experienced by our country.

Milos Minic added that one must bear in mind that Yugoslavia's international position is not unchangeable and that it could easily change, depending on the trends of the key factors which determine it, that is, the country's domestic situation, the international situation, and our foreign policy.

A particularly negative effect on Yugoslavia's international position is exerted by the present difficult position of our country in economic relations with foreign countries, Minic continued. According to him, the country's unfavorable position in economic relations with foreign countries, which emerged toward the end of the 1970's and at the beginning of the 1980's, represents the source of our present domestic difficulties. He emphasized that the problem of foreign debts is currently one of our most difficult problems.

He urged the elaboration of a concept and program to ensure the country's liquidity, including the payment of debts, for the next 3 to 4 years, after which, Minic said, we would open talks with our creditors, with whom difficult negotiations have been conducted both last year and this year. Together with them, we would seek a solution that corresponds to our interests and needs. We should not reconcile ourselves to a situation in which conditions are put forward that have the character of economic pressure and blackmail. We have always been able to defend our sovereignty and reject pressures, Minic emphasized.

Minic also pointed out the need to implement the agreement of the most indebted countries in the world to elaborate a joint platform for talks with the main creditors. He stressed that conditions also exist to make the world financial circles realize that there will be no recovery of the world economy without a more permament solution of the problem of the developing countries' debts.

In his opinion, it would be very dangerous if, particularly this year, we do not achieve increased exports to the developed Western countries. It would mean falling into an even worse situation. I consider that the failure of efforts undertaken to improve the situation in economic relations with foreign countries, the failure to revive production at home, above all industrial production, and thus a failure to increase exports to the developed Western countries are bound to undermine and weaken Yugoslavia's international economic and political position and to increase domestic problems and difficulties.

I am deeply convinced that at present the most important contribution to the strengthening of the international political and overall position of Yugoslavia lies and must lie in the stabilization of our economy and the overall internal development and thus in the settlement of economic relations with foreign countries.

Dimce Belovski described the promotion of relations with neighboring countries as a vital interest for Yugoslavia because we are struggling not only for peace in the world, but also for peace and quiet on our borders. Apart from this, good-neighborly relations provide opportunities for groups of our peoples in neighboring countries -- just as is the case with groups of neighboring peoples in our country -- to achieve their national rights and thus facilitate good-neighborly relations, rapprochement, and friendship between Yugoslavia and neighboring countries.

Belovski considers that in certain spheres the Balkans are lagging behind European trends and developments. In the Balkans, he said, there is still a provincial atmosphere which does not contribute to European development. The lag of the Balkans in respect to European trends is harmful for the interests of all Balkan peoples. The responsibility for this situation is borne by all Balkan states, governments, and political movements. This in no way excludes our country.

More than anywhere else, the Balkans are burdened by the past, inherited narrow-mindedness, prejudices, and mistrust. International relations in this area continue to be burdened by past conflicts between the great powers and the present confrontation of interests of the great powers and military-political groupings.

It is no secret that the Balkan relations are also burdened by the national question, or, putting it simply, by the question of national minorities which exists in every Balkan country. In this area, too, international relations in the Balkans are faced with open problems. Belittling these problems or even ignoring them as an integral part of Balkan reality produces -- to say the least -- intolerance, lack of mutual trust, disputes, and confrontations. In brief, difficulties that represent a great barrier to the most sincere desire for the achievement of good-neighborly relations, cooperation, and friendship.

The picture of Balkan reality is not rosy, but when we consider the development of Balkan relations, the situation for the future is neither without prospects nor hopeless.

All Balkan states must openly face up to this Balkan reality and on its basis prepare a project of short- and long-term implementation of their national interests. This represents a decisive challenge for all Balkan states, their government, and political movements.

The Balkans must be extricated from this lag and turned into an important and influential subject of European and world relations and trends. The presupposes and demands a subjective adaptation of all Balkan factors and a responsible attitude on their part toward the present.

This also means a patient examination of everything that is common, not only in the field of nuclear weapons or disarmament, but also on a wider economic, scientific, cultural, and political plane, in order to build and formulate common interests regardless of existing ideological and military-political divisions. It is too early to forecast the results of the idea of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, but the very fact that the Balkan countries are developing common interest on this question is very important.

Belovski emphasized three directions of activity that are necessary for improvement in the Balkans:

-- Respect for the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act expressed in particular in the determination of all European states, as well as Canada and the United States, to respect the territorial status quo, which in fact means territorial integrity and sovereignty of each country. Irredentism and attempts at changing the borders by force are incompatible with the spirit and letter of Helsinki, as well as with the UN Charter.

-- The elimination of reasons why the existence of a national minority in a neighboring country represents a source of friction and confrontation can above all be achieved by democratic development within each country. This means the achievement of democratic development such that it enables the majority nation of each country to recognize the existence of a national minority in its midst and to contribute to the achievement of its basic rights. This is never to the detriment of the majority nation and it is always the expression of its maturity and strength. It is necessary to recognize the legality of the interest of the mother nation for the position of its minority in another country. It is also necessary to state that the interest for the position of its minority in another country in no way means the right to interfere in the internal affairs and to attack the sovereignty and integrity of the neighboring country.

-- All-round efforts are necessary to build a Balkan subjectivity, which is only possible and attainable in an atmosphere of cooperation and understanding and on the basis of respect for the vital national interests of every Balkan country and people in particular.

In conclusion, Dimce Belovski outlined Yugoslavia's task in this respect as he sees it: More initiatives, ideas, and proposals are necessary, he said, to strengthen mutual relations, to overcome inherited prejudices, and to achieve openness in the development of relations in the interest of all Balkan states and peoples. I consider that conditions exist for Yugoslavia to achieve such increased engagement, which is not only in our interest, but also in the interest of the entire development of relations in the Balkans.

Relations with neighbors, Nijaz Dizdarevic said, are one of the priority issues of our foreign policy and a constant concern of all factors in our society, proceeding from the interests of all our nations and nationalities. This policy is an integral part of our policy of nonalignment. We apply in this the same principles of mutual respect, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, including inviolability of borders, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, peaceful coexistence, which we rarely underline [as received], and peaceful solution of disputed issues through active cooperation. We remain loyal supporters of open borders and the free movement of people, and of increasingly broad border cooperation and so forth.

We have always advocated that national minorities should be a factor of rapprochement between peoples and a factor of cooperation between them, alongside strict respect for principles of noninterference.

We continue to advocate this. Our minority policy is a function of our general policy toward neighbors and toward the world.

Pointing out the complexity of this issue between us and certain neighbors, with regard to which there are differences and even disputes resulting from differences in social systems and in the international situation, as well as those differences imposed upon us by history, Dizdarevic said that we do not make our cooperation, or summit meetings, conditional upon the settlement or overcoming of disputed issues. Neither however, do we hush them up or evade them.

Underlining that such a policy on Yugoslavia's part is a factor of peace and stability and security in this region and in the world, Dizdarevic added that this policy has found fertile ground with most of our neighbors. It is in the interest of all the peoples of this region to live in peace, and the mutual trust created by cooperation is a factor of secure development and building a better tomorrow for all who live here. This is of vital importance for us because of the very dangerous deterioration of the situation in the world, especially in Europe, he said.

In this context, Dizdarevic pointed in particular to the historic importance of the Osimo Accords for our relations with neighboring Italy, as well as for cooperation and security in Europe. He added that both we and nighboring Italy are together exerting efforts to implement their letter and spirit. Cooperation is well developed with Romania, as well as with Austria, Hungary, and Greece, in particular following Greece's return to the democratic path, and also with Bulgaria, especially on the economic level.

On the bilateral level, the need arises for long-term planning of economic cooperation, bearing in mind the proximity of markets, complementarity of the economy, and a number of other positive factors, in order for us to promote such areas of cooperation as border cooperation and the like.

Although there are a number of specific areas of cooperation, our cooperation with Albania is unfortunately gravely limited, although we are trying to develop it. I would even go so far as to say that this cooperation is constantly threatened from the Albanian side. Recalling the documents in which we reiterated our desire for good-neighborly cooperation with Albania on well-known principles -- for both countries are linked in their destinies and oriented toward the other, both freed themselves during the national liberation war through their own forces and were in solidarity with one another, and both countries are outside blocs and are independent -- Dizdarevic underlined that the ruling circles in neighboring Albania act in quite a different manner. What is most dangerous not only for our relations but also for the situation in this Balkan Mediterranean region is that Albania violates the basic principles upon which international relations are founded by interfering in internal affairs, supporting irredentists both in Kosovo and elsewhere, failing to respect essential territorial integrity, while trumpeting their denial of this, and so forth. All of this is accompanied by crazed propaganda and anti-Yugoslav activity which has even recently been stepped up by Enver Hoxha's book "Titoites" and by its broad-ranging popularization.

Such a campaign, which has in no way been provoked by our side, and such stubborn insistence upon exacerbating our relations and violating the norms and principles, are neither in the present nor future interests of the people of neighboring Albania itself. This campaign represents a great danger for the entire region. Albania is giving opportunities to cold war forces, to the forces of confrontation and to bloc competition. This also gives aid to all fascist, neofascist, and monarchist Greater Albanian forces abroad who were defeated in the Albanian national liberation struggle and who, with the very same or similar slogans offered by Enver Hoxha, aided by the most reactionary anticommunist circles, are waging a battle for change not only in Kosovo, but for change in Albanian domestic policy, its socialist path and its nonbloc international position.

Touching on the latest speeches by Ramiz Alia, president of the Albanian Assembly, Dizdarevic said:

Alia emphasized, for instance, that Albania has no territorial claims against Yugoslavia, while in the same speech reiterating the familiar greater Albanian theses from Enver Hoxha's book. He asserts that he wants cooperation with Yugoslavia on the state level, and in the same speech rejects our country's proposals for cultural and other cooperation to be regulated by treaty. He asserts that Albania has no wish to interfere in our internal affairs, and immediately afterwards, in the next sentence, prescribes what Constitution we should have, what sort of constitutional order we should have, and what to change in that constitutional order. We really would genuinely wish to interpret his positive statements as an opportunity for the development of cooperation, but he immediately contradicts himself in such a way that we must conclude that these positive sections are in fact only given in order to achieve some sort of credibility for Albanian policy among the world public. There are few enough of these positive initiatives in his speeches. As the head of state he repeated the familiar Albanian attacks on everything Yugoslav, on brotherhood and unity, sowing hatred, and on socialism, self-management and nonalignment. He even intrigues and wants to sow mistrust concerning our policy among other countries.

Even while evaluating such a line so harshly, however, I wish to repeat here that we have every interest in, and will retain, the policy of wishing for good-neighborly relations. Dizdarevic advocated, in conclusion, the formation of a permanent coordinating body of the republics and provinces and organs of the federation, or permanent regular conferences several times a year, to agree upon and monitor implementation of policy toward neighbors both on the state and sociopolitical level.

Drawing attention to articles in media organs of some neighboring countries, and even statements by certain responsible officials, asserting that we allegedly have several policies with regard to neighbors, Dizdarevic underlined that we must clearly and vigorously repulse such attempts. We are all wholly united in this policy, and such aspirations of individual reactionary, extreme reactionary circles and forces or individual great power structures, we rightly qualify as an attempt to undermine trust and as a sign of a dubious aim.

Speaking about the activity of the blocs in the world, Nandor Major said that no bloc country has ever been a victim of either bloc competition or bloc agreement making; in both cases it has always been the nonaligned and developing countries who have suffered. He added that it is precisely the nonaligned and developing countries, including even socialist nonaligned countries,who are victims of so-called local wars.

Stressing that the division of the world into blocs is in itself one of the greatest obstacles to solving important world problems, Major said that we have long been prisoners of a declaratory attitude in the struggle against this reactionary institution in international life. He added that it is necessary to look for more efficient methods for exposing the blocs than those used at present. Naturally, this should not be aimed against any individual country, including any bloc country, but against the institution of blocs and the fact of bloc division of the world.

Nandor Major went on to speak about some calculations by certain circles abroad in relation to our international position. In this connection two points should be kept in mind: First, some political forces and influential circles in bloc countries should not come to the wrong conclusion that their bloc allies are a sufficient guarantee for achieving their aim regarding the Balkans. Second, there are forces in bloc countries which from the start have had an alternative to socialist self-management in Yugoslavia. They include in their calculations so-called democratic forces, representatives of political pluralism or neo-Stalinist forces, and representatives of some sort of enlightened etatism. It is symptomatic that the most extreme and discredited political forces have recently been carefully pushed into the background.

The key factor of our international position, on the condition that we realize full political unity, consists above all in the economic trends in the country, said Major.

Speaking about cooperation with neighboring countries, Nandor Major advocated the reaffirmation of the principle which stipulates that all neighboring countries are Yugoslavia's neighbors and not simply neighbors of this or that republic or province, meaning that in international cooperation we should all carry out common Yugoslav policy. He added that we cannot be indifferent toward the destiny of our national minorities in those countries, but that we cannot base our cooperation on the kind of conduct they choose to adopt.

Condemning the recent loathsome attack by Italian neofascists on the Slovene minority in Italy, Major also expressed dissatisfaction over the fact that a recent brutal anti-Yugoslav irredentist act has not been condemned in Hungary.

Majda Gaspari spoke about the problem of Yugoslav workers temporarily employed abroad and stressed that the mood of our people, and particularly their political mood, cannot be measured solely by manifestations of allegiance. Displays of patriotism which most frequently reach us, often through the mass media, together with the degree of self-organization, represent an indicator of the situation, but this should not deceive us. There is sufficient evidence, said Gaspari, that forces in the world acting against socialist self-management, nonaligned Yugoslavia are increasing their activity aimed at our workers, using means of mass indoctrination and using all the space afforded by our passivity and ideological disharmony or deviations. Our social community should be able to keep its word and, in case of a further aggravation of the international economic crisis with all its possible consequences, to offer our returning workers the alternative of coming back on the basis of a productive role for their savings and expertise.

At today's session of the LCY Central Committee, Jure Bilic was appointed new member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. In secret ballot, Jure Bilic received 128 of 131 votes of those present. This appointment followed the death of Dr Vladimir Bakaric and a proposal by the Central Committee of the Croat LC that Jure Bilic be appointed member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. A specially selected commission, comprising the president and secretaries of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and presidents of the central and provincial committees of the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army carried out the necessary consultation. On that occasion it was agreed that Jure Bilic would be nominated as a candidate for membership in LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Today's session also endorsed the appointment of Ivo Karamarko as new member of the LCY Central Committee. The appointment followed the death of Dr Vladimir Bakaric, which left one place vacant.

Today's session also verified the election to the Central Committee of Josip Vrhovec, who was recently elected president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, as well as of Hamdija Pozderac, Dobroslav Culafic, Krste Markovski, and Dusan Ckrebic, who were elected presidents of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Serbia and who, due to their functions, are members of this highest party forum in the country and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Aleksandar Grlickov talked about how much the policy within the LC workers' movement corresponds with the tempestuous changes and events in the world, which are historically significant. He also dealt with how all this influences the ideological trends in the LC and how and to what extent organizations and members of the LCY participated in the building and realization of the LCY's policy of relations and cooperation with workers' and other progressive parties and movements in the world.

World events, he said, are happening so fast and are accompanied by such contradictions that this does not leave much time for thinking and strategic perceptions in politics. It would seem that if one does not want to fall into the trap of practicism and its natural surrogates -- voluntarism and arbitrariness -- strategic perceptions and examinations should be done progressively together with actions and restructuring.

At the same time, these conditions tell us that we should find a way to discuss these questions as much and as extensively as possible with as much depth as possible, and to keep pace with the times and strengthen the LC's collective perceptions. Sudden changes on the international scene, violent transformations in the internal development of certain countries, and numerous political and international strategies have not brought into question the cardinal values of our policy in the historic movement for socialism and our visions of the world, Grlickov stressed.

This, however, does not mean that dynamic changes in world events and revolutionary circumstances do not impose on us the need for questioning, adapting, maturing, and searching for new lines of action. This is also an obligation for us since, as is well known from history, the central question of the workers' movement has always been and still is, perhaps more than ever, how much it perceives the matured historic concrete international and internal conditions and their mutual dialectics and how much it keeps pace with the needs of the contemporary world, how much it precedes or lags behind these needs.

Having pointed out the great complexity of the world today, Grlickov said this means that solutions to problems are also very complex and thus also the choice of possible and probable alternatives for socialist strategies and tactics.

There has never been on the world stage so many organized class, social, national, economic, military, ideological, religious, and other forces attempting to maintain or change their place in the existing world reality and to offer solutions for the realization of their historic and concrete vision of mankind.

Clashes and confrontations among these various interests and visions of the world's future have led and still lead to a situation, he said, in which mankind finds itself facing more open questions and dilemmas than ever before and at the same time fewer complete and true answers.

Stressing in particular the need for open debates on the global strategy of the world historic process of socialism, Grlickov called for the introduction of debate into the LC, for training LC members to take part in these debates and for making the rejuvenated LC leadership capable of always being at the helm of the struggle for socialism in the world, of the development of the historic process of socialism, and therefore at the helm of our socialist self-management society.

Dusan Dragosavac dwelt in more detail on a number of aspects of the Polish crisis, its reflection on the international workers' movement and on Yugoslavia. In his opinion, Polish society fell into crisis, first and foremost, as a result of the bureaucratic-technocratic system, which squeezed the Polish working class onto the periphery. Polish society, however, cannot emerge from the crisis with the aid of the bourgeois-clerical Catholic-political system, for this very system is itself in a general state of crisis. Yet this system is today being proposed and strong forces (?exist) that are trying to install it in Poland.

For there to be any prospects, it is more important to carry out changes in the system that will enable it to operate more successfully, developing socialism and socialist democracy, Dragosavac said. He stressed that only a socialist system founded upon the bases of direct socialist democracy can ensure peace and restore the confidence in socialism which has been destroyed among many Poles.

This is a primary issue for peace in Europe and the world. Socialist Poland may generally overcome nationalism against others, too, including anti-Soviet nationalism. Sovereign socialist Poland will, on the basis of equality -- although, of course, even this sovereignty does not depend on Poland alone -- build up and develop friendly relations with the Soviet Union and its other neighbors and with all other peaceful states. If not, if events take a turn toward regeneration of the old bureaucratic or even bourgeois multiparty system, the masses will continue to be influenced by factors of anticommunist, clerical, and other bourgeois ideas, which in essence will increasingly push the Polish working class to the right. In spite of certain results being achieved today, there is still no clear program in Poland to develop direct socialist democracy. This is, of course, hampered by outside factors, too, and interference from both left and right. Because of this, many people in Poland are finding it difficult to rid themselves of middle class nationalist, anarchist, bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences.

The events in Poland cannot simply be described as merely counterrevolution organized by the internal and external enemy, who exploited the weaknesses of the leadership, Dragosavac said. He added that unless the Workers' Party has serious programs and is befitted for action, the Polish working people cannot be effectively mobilized to build socialism nor, accordingly, can the Polish intelligentsia. The main error of the former Polish leadership was not that during the earlier period specific class restrictions existed, primarily for the bourgeoisie, which had been deprived of power, but that the dictatorship of the proletariat was transformed into the dictatorship of the nonproletariat over the working class, with a consequent degeneration into total state etatism.

Dragosavac went on to say that the LCY leadership's views on Poland have been subjected to criticism from various sides.

Some people reproach us for not giving unreserved support to moves toward internal military intervention and to ideas that the system, which in essence worked to deepen the crisis, should be preserved, removing only some of the weaknesses in it, correcting and eliminating (?errors) which allowed deviations from the system tested in real socialism.

Others reproach us for failing to support the bourgeois-clerical Catholic forces in Poland, who are today strong and have great influence there. On the contrary, we have opposed any foreign interference in Poland's internal affairs, and continue to do so. Accordingly, we oppose the interference of the United States and the USSR and the Vatican and so forth, for we are aware that only a sovereign socialist Poland can be an important factor in international political cooperation, peace, and security in Europe and the world. We can support only a socialist Poland. Furthermore, I stress this because in our country there is often insufficient criticism of that other alien thought, particularly of clericalism in the Catholic Church. Dragosavac went on to say that there is quite a lot of discussion and comparison of events in Poland with other socialist countries, and indeed with our own. Where Yugoslavia is concerned, the example most often cited is that of our indebtedness abroad, the imbalance of commodity and money relations, shortages of certain goods, and, with regard to our national structure, intranational problems.

Some of these problems are not only Polish and Yugoslav in scope, but also international. However, along with these incidental similarities, one should also point out the differences.

First, Yugoslavia is a nonbloc, nonaligned country. There are no foreign troops in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's system began to develop relatively early on the basis of socialist self-management. This system enabled us and is enabling us to overcome socioeconomic problems quite successfully through our own resources. Indebtedness and imbalance in commodity and money relations are indeed serious current and even long-term problems for Yugoslavia.

If one derives the chief lessons from the Polish events, which everyone should do, of course, then they consist in the fact that our political system of direct socialist democracy should be consistently developed. He went on to say that the greatest problem in Yugoslavia is not that there are both Stalinist and bourgeois elements in our society, but that we have not sufficently developed our self-managing socialist system and direct socialist democracy and that there is vacillation and insufficient capacity for acton in that regard in the LC. It is, therefore, our most important task to promote and develop our political system of direct socialist democracy.

Underlining that conflicts and disputes between the socialist countries, and especially those which lead to armed clashes and military interventions, inflict grave damage upon the prestige and influence of socialist forces, the struggle for peace and socialism in the world, and play into the hands of anticommunist activity, Dragosavac said that we must develop our activity against this and be more determined in our condemnation of such a practice, which, unfortunately, still exists in the workers' movement and which, in particular, is practiced by some socialist governments.

Dragosavac said in conclusion that one must constantly bear in mind the well-known Marxist supposition on the unity of internal and foreign policy in order to make the prestige of socialist nonaligned Yugoslavia in the world, and the LC, even more valued and effective, as it will be if we solve as successfully as possible our internal problems, and develop socialism and socialist democracy.

As far as our relations with neighboring Albania are concerned, Ali Sukrija said, we must conclude that in all spheres apart from economic and foreign trade cooperation, these relations have deteriorated considerably. This has come about precisely because of the openly anti-Yugoslav policy which the Albanian leadership has been conducting against the SFRY ever since 1948; this policy has been expressed in the most crude and direct manner possible, especially since the counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo by Albanian nationalists and irredentists.

All means of propaganda and special war are used in the unbridled and provocative behavior of the Albanian leadership with regard to the SFRY, not only through the information media, but also in direct utterances by the most high-ranking Albanian party and state leaders, culminating in the recent public utterances by Ramiz Alia, president of the Albanian People's Assembly. This is in fact related to Tirana's concern and surprise at the (?failure) of actions by Albanian irredentists in Kosovo and elsewhere. The Albanian leaders were particularly disappointed that the working class from the ranks of Albanians in Kosovo and in the SFRY did not accept the hostile counterrevolutionary actions of Albanian nationalists and irredentists. They were amazed that the Kosovo LC at the head of other progressive forces, went relatively quickly into a head-on offensive and with the full action of state and other organs of power successfully ensured the normal work and life of people and of all social institutions. The breaking up of the illegal underground is a heavy blow for the nationalists and irredentists, Sukrija went on.

It is becoming increasingly clear even to the least well-informed people, he emphasized, that the irredentists' actions in Kosovo and elsewhere were in full accord with the policy and goals of the Albanian leadership regarding Yugoslavia, and with their territorial claims upon the SFRY. It was clear from the very beginning that the irredentists' main slogan: "Kosovo -- a Republic" was just a springboard for the realization of the goals and claims on all Yugoslav territories where Albanians live.

Having stated that Albanian society is being eaten away by the great contradictions and mutual conflicts in the party and state leadership itself which come to light only when political and physical liquidations are carried out at the top level, Sukrija said that Enver Hoxha has subjected internal relations in Albania to total bureaucratic and police rule on the lines of Stalinist despotism.

We rejoice at every success of the Albanian people and the Yugoslav man is not given to rejoicing cynically at others' difficulties and misfortunes. We are, however, concerned at the misfortune and circumstances in which the Albanian people live and with which they are faced, Ali Sukrija added, which Enver Hoxha has vainly tried to conceal.

The Yugoslav Communist Party's clash with the Cominform and Stalin in 1948 gave Enver Hoxha the chance to show his cards, and his real face, that of an incorrigible dogmatist, petty bourgeois philistine, and modern Greater Albanian ideologist carried away with the desire to accomplish what others before him failed to do, with the exception of the fascist occupiers and their quislings in WWII. He created a system of complete insecurity and mutual mistrust, even between man and wife, brother and sister, father and son. This truth cannot be concealed.

Enver's goals are unhidden: the creation of Greater Albania through expansion at the expense of the territory of the SFRY.

The leadership of the Albanian Workers' Party and of the state spreads unscrupulous lies about the lack of rights of Albanians in Yugoslavia, Sukrija went on, adding that even before the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, Enver Hoxha had tried through his writings to disparage the socialist self-managing system of Yugoslavia.

During the war, Sukrija went on, the fascist forces altered borders and created satellite fascist states. It was then that Greater Albania was created under Mussolini and Hitler. The nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and the Albanians themselves, however, rose up in armed revolt for they would accept neither fascist slavery nor the parcelling up of their country. So why do Enver Hoxha and the Albanian leadership, or anyone else for that matter, now have a right to raise the issue of altering Yugoslav borders? For instance, the other day the chairman of the Albanian Academy of Sciences once again shed crocodile tears because of unrealized dreams from the time of the Prizren League. Does that mean that the academician and humanist Aleks Buda wants war and bloodshed between his own nation and the other Albanian nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia instead of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Albania and Yugoslavia and the Balkans in the interests of the progress and the advancement of all? Only unbalanced minds, like vampires, bring up the issue of borders and raise the issue of expanding their states at the expense of the sovereignty and integrity of other neighboring peoples and states, Sukrija emphasized.

Ramiz Alia recently visited the provinces on the border with Yugoslavia. He made use of this trip to interfere in the internal affairs and policy of Yugoslavia, and to openly support and incite hostile forces and operations of Albanian nationalists and irredentists inKosovo and elsewhere against the SFRY, its sovereignty and integrity.

The most impudent thing is that Ramiz Alia speaks of their right to defend the Albanians in Yugoslavia, A. Sukrija said, adding that Alia makes use of propaganda identical to that of the irredentists and nationalists in Kosovo, inciting the most base chauvinist passions against the Serbian, Montenegrin, Macedonian, and other Yugoslav peoples. This chauvinist and Greater Albanian propaganda campaign is intended, in fact, to divert the attention of his own people from the internal problems and difficulties afflicting Albanian society. It is clear, he went on, to the Communists and working people of Albanian nationality that the counterrevolutionary actions of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists are primarily directed against their own interests. This awareness is becoming increasingly evident and stronger with every passing day.

The ideologists of a Greater Albania today seem to have forgotten that Yugoslav Partisans under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Tito fought and made great sacrifices in the struggle against the fascist occupiers and their servants as did the Kosovo Partisans and the Albanian Partisans fighting against the so-called Second Prizren League and Greater Albania.

It is unfortunate and tragic that today the leadership of a party that calls itself communist and of a country that calls itself socialist should cling like a leech to the worst side of an outmoded historical epoch and platform. This is a dangerous adventure for the Albanian leadership, Sukrija went on, and these are dangerous games for all the Balkan peoples, but most of all for the Albanian people themselves, in this world of bloc divisions and hegemony of the great powers.

Albania is a member of the United Nations and as such should behave in the spirit of the UN Charter; however it is the only country in Europe which took no part in the Helsinki conference, nor does it today accept the initiative on a Balkan conference to proclaim the Balkans a nuclear-free zone, acting as a "free shooter," an isolated country in the Balkan and European region. In its crazed and hostile campaign and territorial claims against Yugoslavia the Albanian leadership by its irresponsible behavior makes goodneighborly relations impossible, threatens peace in the Balkans, and exposes the Albanian people themselves to danger in the very exacerbated international relations of bloc rivalry and hegemony, Sukrija said.

We enjoy normal economic relations with Albania, which are of mutual benefit. We wish to develop and expand cooperation in all spheres and areas. We can develop cultural cooperation only on a totally reciprocal basis. We wish to develop this cultural cooperation between Albania and Yugoslavia in the future, not only through Kosovo, as has been the bad practice of the past, but in fact with all republics and provinces; not merely with Kosovo University, but with other universities in our country; not merely with the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kosovo, but with other academies in our country; not merely with Kosovo folk song and dance ensembles, but with other cultural and artistic societies throughout the country. Only thus can our mutual cooperation be enhanced. Only thus can the nationalities in the Balkan countries be brigades of friendship and cooperation and not an element of conflict. History has taught us this, and the Albanian leadership ought also to be conscious of this, Sukrija said.

Anton Vratusa emphasized that the Sixth UNCTAD Session is being held in conditions of political and economic crisis, general insecurity, and wars. The entire world is in the grip of economic crisis, and the developing countries are the worst afflicted. This is also reflected in the work of the Sixth UNCTAD, he said, adding that world economic recovery and development were placed on the agenda of this session.

Vratusa went on to say that all the economic, social, political, and ideological contradictions of the modern world are therefore raised at this UNCTAD session. Ideological polarization of the problems of development and international economic relations by the developed capitalist countries, in his opinion, is more marked at this session than at previous UNCTAD session, but the spirit of cooperation without crude confrontations nevertheless can be felt in the debates and negotiations, the reason for which should most probably be sought in the depth of the international crisis. In this situation no one wants to take on the responsibility for a possible failure of UNCTAD, Vratusa said, going on to brief the members of the Central Committee with some of the basic differences in approach.

It is particularly significant that today we are speaking about issues relating to the workers' movement, for this is rarely discussed, Mirko Ostojic said. Regardless of how the state of affairs is in it, it is becoming one of the vital structures of the international community. It is currently very important and will become even more so, given the general international situation and the need for world forces to be organized in a new way in the struggle for peace and development.

He added that we have successfully rid ourselves of unreal ideas about the world and have thrown out those visions which rest upon ideological dogmas and not on living social realities.

This method of creative analysis, which has distinguished the League of Communists and its international action, is Tito's method and is one which we should foster as much as possible and renew and constantly innovate, M. Ostojic said.

Otherwise we could stagnate, our analyses could become static and we could become the slaves of certain norms and knowledge which life has made outmoded. Ostojic particularly advocated that better paths toward new actions be sought more rapidly. This, however, will be difficult without science, without true science which can monitor the practical work of politics and diplomacy. We must, for instance, shed light much more quickly upon a number of such new phenomena in international relations as fundamentalism and those radicalist streams of various orientations which are appearing, or the problems of regional hegemonies, the question of local wars, the phenomenon of old historically-outmoded religious teachings and norms becoming stronger, and issues relating to the constant crisis of socialist concepts and the continuous revitalization of bloc platforms and bloc solutions in international life. He then expressed the conviction that we have sufficient strength to carry out such tasks, and then spoke about Balkan cooperation, the policy and relations of the superpowers, and the situation in Europe.

It is very significant that we have remained an independent country and that our problems and contradictions can be seen openly. The well-known difficulties we are going through have not cut off but, on the contrary, stimulated democratic development. Our openness in laying bare our problems and our critical attitude toward shortcomings are such as to confuse both friends and enemies, Ostojic said, going on to point out a number of forms of anti-Yugoslav activity abroad.

Activity that promotes destabilization of another country, undermining its democratic achievements and its constitutional order, has never been a constructive and friendly act. The final effect of such activity is to inflict the greatest damage on those who allow it to happen and who boast of such freedom as a democratic achievement, Ostojic said.

Within the framework of the policy of good-neighborly relations and open borders, we have established intensive and fruitful relations with our minorities in Austria and Italy, Joze Cluha said. However, he said, the positive achievements and results of these efforts have been profoundly affected by restrictive measures on the part of the Federal Executive Council in connection with stabilization measures. I am thinking of the deposit [required of Yugoslav citizens traveling abroad] and closure of borders: However temporary these measures, account should be taken of the political damage, which greatly sets back our relations with minorities.

We can conclude today, Georgije Jovicic said, that the same tendencies which the LCY congress pointed to, have been maintained in such a way that some of them are even more pronounced or manifest themselves in somewhat different forms. He noted in particular that the arms race, above all, is being stepped up in all spheres. He pointed out that recently increased attention has been devoted to developing forces for rapid foreign military intervention, and that along with this, great importance is being attached to conducting special war.

This means, essentially, the strengthening of forces to wage a policy from a position of strength, intervention, and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Jovicic stressed.

Speaking about the international position and security of Yugoslavia, Georgije Jovicic said that our position and security are positively affected by our efforts with the nonaligned countries and other progressive forces toward strengthening international security, peace, and disarmament, and by our uninterrupted efforts to perfect the concept of all-people's defense, military doctrine, and overall defense potential. Bearing in mind these and a number of other positive factors, we consider that our military strategic position is basically stable.

As concerns our internal trends, these are clearly fraught with many problems and difficulties which have the most direct influence upon national defense, too. Unless we eliminate these, and in particular if they continue to worsen, they will have an increasingly negative effect on our overall stability and also on our military stability. They must accordingly be resolved as soon as possible from this angle, too.

In the foreseeable future international relations will be very complicated and burdened by many trials and crises. All this will unfold amid a considerably heightened level of arms in the world. Dangers and risks of military confrontation ranging from local to the most wide-ranging dimensions are implicit in this. In such a hypothesis, the security and position of the SFRY are directly involved both as one of the most prominent members of the Nonaligned Movement and as a country strategically sandwiched between two mutually opposed military blocs.

The great powers' struggle for regional balance of military forces in the Mediterranean could grow into a markedly intense struggle for military primacy in this region. Because of dynamic but unequal development in this region and the existing crisis, which will probably continue, and because of the possible emergence of new hotbeds of crisis, such a development is fraught with an even more profound danger to security in the Mediterranean and the danger of possible armed conflicts of broader dimensions. All this could have an unfavorable effect on the security of southern Europe and on our country in particular, given the well-known aspirations in regard to this area, including the territorial claims against the SFRY.

Proceeding from such conditions and from our internal situation, we must continue, in the spirit of the tasks posed by the 12th Congress of the LCY, our efforts together with the nonaligned countries and the other progressive forces in the world to strengthen international security, achieve disarmament and peace, and thereby strengthen Yugoslavia's international position.

We must also continue, while respecting to the maximum the economic stabilization program, to further strengthen all-people's defense and social self-protection in an all-round way, continue the further modernization of the Yugoslav People's Army, equipping and outfitting it in accordance with the requirements of modern war, and continue to build up further the firm combat morale of all components of the all-people's defense and of the people, raising their readiness for the defense of the country. The unity of the LCY and of our society as a whole is a vital condition for all these actions, Jovicic said

Vlado Janzic expressed the opinion that any reduction in our level of international activity and any concessions whatsoever to opportunist and pragmatist ideas that might come about in the present situation, would be very damaging to our international position and security and to what we call the prestige of our country and the League of Communists.

It should be emphasized once again, he added, that historical experience as a whole confirms the reality and full justification of our principled nonaligned foreign policy, which itself arose and evolved in difficult conditions and circumstances unfavorable to our country's international position.

Janzic went on to say that by emphasizing the need to conduct an active, dynamic, global and principled foreign policy he did not wish in any respect to neglect any domestic or foreign objective factor that would restrict real opportunities for activity in the world.

He went on to underline that it is very important that the League of Communists and sociopolitical organizations not allow the scope of their international activity to be restricted unjustifiably by any shortsighted reasons of diplomatic opportunism, for the activities of the League of Communists are much broader and more diverse.

In his opinion, it is most important to bear in mind that the central problem in the modern world, alongside the struggle for the development of peace, is the need for accelerated development of social transformations on progressive democratic bases.

In such historical conditions, Janzic added, it is certainly very important for all factors of progressive changes to perceive the inalienable link between the struggle for peace and the struggle to resolve social contradictions in line with the historical process of liberating man, humanizing human relations, and fully emancipating the peoples.

There is no doubt, Janzic considers, that the process of building national strategies depends to a great extent on the degree to which one's own experience and also the experiences of the struggle for progress and socialism on a world scale are taken as the point of departure. The main task of the communist parties is not, therefore, today posed as that of having to "close their ranks" on the international level and of gathering together for the sake of such a goal at regional and world assemblies. But all progressive and democratic forces should, in a completely free democratic and equal atmosphere, exchange opinions, views, and experience on all issues that can help efforts to build up authentic creative and realistic national strategies for the struggle for peace and progress which derive from scientific analysis of the specific conditions in every country and in which a wealth of world experience is built. In this connection he stressed that it is necessary to emphasize those forms of international cooperation which may best help to achieve the main goal.

Owing to the complex problems confronting the workers', socialist, and other progressive movements in the world, Janzic expressed the belief that the LCY should be even more active in its efforts to enhance the content of international cooperation together with other parties although in the modern world cooperation between the progressive movements is very intensive and well-developed. Janzic added, we cannot say that we are satisfied with the degree of knowledge of the conditions in which individual movements operate or with the degree of mutual understanding and trust. This, in addition to paternalistic tendencies and dogmatic approaches which hamper the development of cooperation, makes differences deeper, polemics more acute, and even leads to confrontation. If all movements and parties were consistently to respect the principle of equality and of not foisting one's own standpoints upon others, and if they were constantly to exert efforts to acquaint themselves without prejudice with the conditions of work and specific features of other movements, in Janzic's opinion, it would indeed be possible to attain a higher level of unity and cooperation which would in no way fetter the creative efforts of any national progressive movement to seek and find its own paths of revolution and would thereby enrich the total world treasury of theory and practice of socialism, which is already a world process.

Ivo Fabinc assessed that we and the world are in bad trouble. The question is how to get out of it? The international community does not have a united answer and this is why there is no international action, something which is truly necessary.

The solutions offered by the nonaligned remain by and large unaccepted. The Western world on the whole still irrationally wishes to believe that a modest cyclic revival can get the world out of difficult structural misfortunes.

The socialist countries in the East mainly support the thesis about their own crisis-free society and the final collapse of the capitalist social order. This does not oblige anyone to anything.

This is why we can expect a period of pragmatic arrangements in international economic relations, all kinds of pressure, attacks, and counterattacks. There will only be an apparently easier period for the strong and a difficult one for the weak, but essentially it will be uncertain for everyone.

The crisis in the world economy has uncovered a dangerous vulnerability of our society. It found us unprepared because of the euphoria of spending and bad economic management. The open flank to the world brought us into a defensive position and exposed us, according to all information available to me, to pressures which we have not experienced for a very long time. This demands that we sooner or later arrive at a political assessment of our economic links with the world in light of these developments.

If there is a consistency in our relations with foreign countries, it is our conviction of the need to keep our society open. I proceed from the assumption that we can successfully include ourselves into the world only if we consistently proceed from our socio-economic and political being. We can carry out only what we have decided upon and for which we consider that there exist internal forces to implement what has been agreed. If we promise what cannot be done, the responsibility is ours and we have to suffer the consequences.

Concluding the debate at today's plenary session, Micja Ribicic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said:

The assessments and stands presented in the introductory report of Comrade Vidic have been ratified during the discussion at today's session. The discussion has made an important contribution to a united appraisal of the present international situation and the position of our country in the world, and has also produced numerous proposals for our future activity. For this reason there is no need for us to adopt any particular conclusions at this session.

In the very complex international conditions, which are characterized by intensified interbloc rivalry in the military, economic, political, and ideological spheres, the struggle for spheres of influence in all these areas that we have heard about today and increasingly frequent application of pressures, force, and interventions that particularly hit the nonaligned and developing countries, our country, situated in a sensitive geostrategic region, must pay constant attention to its security, the strengthening of its defense capabilities and its independence.

In such conditions our foreign policy should be on the offensive and should maintain its global character, but should also offer initiatives and be involved at the international level, and particularly in the movement of the nonaligned countries and within the framework of the United Nations. This is why it is essential for the LC and all organized socialist forces of our society, all the subjects of our foreign policy and the state, to continue developing broad activity based on the original principles of the policy of nonalignment and to consistently struggle in specific actions for the realization of the goals of the policy and movement of nonalignment. The exponents of our international cooperation thus have the duty of putting their programs into effect in keeping with the stands of the Seventh Conference of the Nonaligned Countries. This was a very militant conference because it not only fought for principles, the original principles of nonalignment, but also demanded action, demanded UNCTAD, Geneva, neogiations, the 38th session of the United Nations, demanded that the great powers sit down at the negotiating table and so on. In this respect we must rise to the level of our tasks.

We can conclude that this session has shown the complete unity of the Central Committee in all the essential elements of our policy toward our neighbors. The policy of developing good-neighborly relations is an essential, I would even say top-priority, component in the strengthening of our international position, and also an important contribution to peace and security in this part of Europe and the world at large. We must continue to make efforts to promote cooperation with our neighbors, so that nowhere are we the cause of unprincipled conflicts with our neighbors, and to develop relations and co-operation on the basis of strict respect for the internationally accepted principles of sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, equality and non-interference, with all seven countries as far as possible.

We will continue our policy of open borders, which was very clearly stated in the discussion, the policy of open borders, broad cooperation, and communication with our neighbors.

In this respect we must consider from all aspects the effect of certain temporary restrictive measures and examine the possibility of substituting adequate solutions for them. As far as this is concerned we have been rather slow in analyzing the effects of these restrictive measures in certain areas. The criticism here, I believe, was justified.

As Comrade Tito emphasized on many occasions, the development of good-neighbourly relations also includes our attitude towards national minorities and nationalities, which should be a factor in the cooperation and understanding between our country and neighboring countries and a factor in the promotion of good-neighborly relations. They can play the part of a bridge linking countries and nations. Of course, this role can only be played if their national rights are respected.

Our session has energetically condemned the recent rowdy, neofascist provocations in Trieste which were a rude assault not only on the rights and position of the Slovene nationality but also on the democratic achievements of the Italian Republic.

We will continue to be actively involved in protecting the interests of our citizens abroad. This, as was stressed in the report and in the discussion, must occupy an important place in our relations with countries in which our workers are temporarily employed.

At the same time, maximal involvement is needed in providing the most favorable conditions for the employment and work of our citizens who return to this country.

As a Balkan, Mediterranean, and European country, nonaligned Yugoslavia has always had a responsible and involved attitude toward the problems of European security and cooperation. In this respect we take as our starting point the Helsinki CSCE and its final document which was signed by Comrade Tito. We advocate the continuation and enrichment of the processes begun at the CSCE and the consistent and complete implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in interstate relations.

This session has also pointed to the enormous danger of the accelerated arms race and the far-reaching negative consequences of the introduction of new, even more destructive nuclear and other weapons. This poses a threat to peace and security in Europe and the world and directly affects the international position and security of our country.

It is an encouraging fact that opposition to such a policy is growing among the broadest social strata throughout the world. The LCY and our country will continue in the coming period to call for disarmament as the most basic necessity of the contemporary world.

The economic crisis which has engulfed the whole world has demonstrated once again that in order to genuinely resolve the international economic problems, conditions have to be created for the development of all the countries and for the construction of a new equitable international economic system which will be in the interest of all the countries and peoples in the world.

Proceeding from the above, the New Delhi Nonaligned Conference came out in favor of global negotiations on international economic cooperation and development and stressed the need for urgent measures to be taken simultaneously to resolve the acute problems which are effecting the developing countries more than anyone else -- such as the problems of food, energy, raw materials, trade, and finance. These stands are conspicuously present at the Sixth UNCTAD in Belgrade. At this session we gained a first insight into the proceedings so far at the UNCTAD Session. A further thorough analysis of the results of this conference will be required in order to encourage fresh measures and activities for the solution of the problems of the developing countries.

Our struggle for the faster development of socialist self-management and for the successful solution of the economic and other problems which our society, our working class, and our working people are facing is at the same time a struggle to consolidate our independence. At the session today the Central Committee has once again stressed the need to continue the policy which is strengthening the independence of Yugoslavia, especially in its economic relations with foreign countries.

The successful implementation of such a policy is of exceptional importance for the stability of the international position of our country. The LC will consistently continue the policy of developing relations and of all-round cooperation and exchange of views with communist, socialist, social democratic, and other parties, with liberation and other progressive democratic movements, which is in the interest of peace, social progress, and socialism in the world. In order to attain a free exchange of views, information, and experience on concrete topical questions we are interested in various aspects of cooperation with progressive parties and movements, including multilateral cooperation among the parties and movements on a number of previous occasions. The correctness of these stands, formulated in the resolution of the 12th LCY Congress, has been confirmed in practice.

The LCY's stand was put forward in the report on the idea of convening an international consultative meeting of communist parties. The LCY believes that it is in the interest of the struggle for peace in the world that the communist parties should not become separated from other progressive and democratic parties and movements. We assess adversely any attempt to establish a regional or international institutionalization of party cooperation and to adopt binding documents.

There exists in the world, and this has been discussed at some length at this session, an interest in our experience in the construction of a socialist self-management society and a great interest in the position and the reputation of our country. Our successes are followed with attention, but our difficulties, too, are followed with attention. In this connection it should be stressed that by successfully resolving our problem and further developing socialist self-management, in addition to securing the stability of the social economic and political development of our country, which is our paramount task, we are making a contribution to the development of socialism in the world.

In future, too, great attention must be paid to the socialization of foreign policy and of international cooperation in general. In this respect great responsibility and commitment devolves on sociopolitical and economic information and many other factors, who is taking part in the implementation, and the interpretation of our foreign political activity. Mutual information and coordination of the activities of all subjects on international cooperation must be constantly promoted because there are shortcomings in this area and sometimes there is lack of responsible conduct. All this calls for constant promotion of ideopolitical activity of the LC in this area and for timely and comprehensive information of the LCY membership and of our public at large.

On the basis of the report and discussion on this eighth session of the LCY Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee Presidium will work out a detailed plan of the implementation of the tasks stemming from the session today and from all the materials of the session today. The Presidium will regularly inform members of the Central Committee of the implementation of these tasks and will provide initiatives for the meetings of its Commission for International Cooperation.

The Central Committee today approved the report on the 1 year of work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The most important question relative to the further development of our socioeconomic role of the LC were brought up during the period covered by this report (July 1982-June 1983).

The extent of the activity of the Presidium is testified to by the fact that 41 sessions with 132 agenda items were held in the course of the year.

During the past period the Presidium paid greatest attention to economic questions, which is understandable in view of the very complex development in this area. The report stresses that during the 1-year period the socioeconomic situation could not improve substantially despite efforts and despite certain positive results. Admittedly, to a certain extent the most negative trends and consequences of serious disruptions in distribution, excessive expenditure in foreign trade commodity exchange, and so forth have been modified and arrested. However, in economic trends there still persists a great imbalance expressed in a high rate of inflation, disrupted commodity-monetary trends and in autarchic orientation in the development of the organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities.

In assessing the activity of the LC, the report stresses that it has not yet developed the essential leading ideopolitical role and responsibility of the vanguard in subjective social forces. For this reason, the report goes on to say, the LC does not manage to link efficiently and to mobilise a broad front of progressive forces along the line of fundamental social orientations. Communists are not displaying adequate initiative and persistence in the implementation of the LCY policy, which is the consequence, among other things, of the weakening of the ideopolitical unity on the fulfillment of the historic interest of the working class, interrupted or formalized links between the organization and organs of the LC in the adoption and implementation of political stands and decisions.

One of the reasons must certainly be sought in the fact that the workers still constitute a dominant group in the LCY. [as received] What happens is that even today their share in LCY membership does not go beyond one-third, but they continue to be most strongly represented numerically among those who are leading the LC.

As far as international cooperation, LCY activity, and also the activity of the LCY Central Committee are concerned, during the period covered by this report this cooperation was continued on the well-known principles of our foreign policy. During the 1-year period there were 62 international meetings, of which 28 were with the parties in Western Europe, 21 with communist parties in power, and 13 with the parties and movements of nonaligned and developing countries.

The Central Committee members today approved the program of work of its commissions.